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See also

MS. Eng. misc. c. 363

THE
SEPULCHRE OF CHRIST:

A TOPOGRAPHICAL INQUIRY.

BY
ALEXANDER B. M'GRIGOR, LL.D.

5 1'

Δεῖτε ὅτε τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἔκειτο.
ΜΑΤΤ. XXVIII. 6.

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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

GLASGOW:
JAMES MACLEHOSE & SONS,
Publishers to the University.
1885.

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PREFACE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH ON THE WESTERN HILL.

IF we imagine a traveller visiting Jerusalem with no previous knowledge of the localities, save what he may have gained from the Bible, we shall not easily over-estimate the surprise he must feel on being shown in the church on the Western Hill the alleged scenes of our Lord's passion and resurrection. Apart altogether from the remarkable contiguity of the modern Calvary and the modern Sepulchre, which might possibly be overlooked in the absence of other difficulties, he may well be startled when asked to recognize in the heart of the existing town, 300 yards from the nearest point of the wall, and in the immediate vicinity of the bazaars, the garden "near the city" and "without the gate." Nor, if inclined to examine into the apparent discrepancy, will he find any lasting assistance in the assurance that much of what is now within the city may well have been without at the time of the crucifixion,—the wall of Agrippa—or, as it is commonly called, the third wall—having been built ten years subsequently, to meet the increase of the population and protect the widely-extended suburbs. His investigations, however slight, will have taught him that the problem is to exclude the site of the Sepulchre, not from the circuit of the third wall, but from that of the second, built in all probability by Hezekiah, at all events existing many years prior to the birth of Christ.

The nature of the difficulty will be apparent on a glance at any map of the modern city, or at any representation of it taken from a position sufficiently commanding to present to the eye its area and boundaries.¹ The pilgrims and historians of the middle ages were not easily shaken in their belief of what the Church asserted. But the apparent contradiction between the testimony of Scripture and that of their own eyes was too strong not to call in several instances for an attempted explanation, if not for the declaration

¹ See, for example, the Sketch-map, p. 55, of Bartlett's "Walks about Jerusalem;" the Panorama prefixed to Bartlett's "Jerusalem Revisited;" that forming plate 1 of the illustrations

to Pierrotti's "Jerusalem Explored;" or, the view of "Jerusalem from the East" in Barclay's "City of the Great King," p. 470.

of an admitted difficulty. Sæwulf, writing in 1102, Willebrand of Oldenburg in 1211, and Jacobus de Vitriaco in 1220, assert that up to the time of Hadrian the site was still without the circuit of the walls.¹ Brocardus, in 1230, writes, that the modern walls included more in breadth than they did in the time of Christ, but informs us, that, even then, men were to be found who refused to believe that the present site was the true one.² Ordericus, in 1320,³ and William de Baldensel, in 1336, give the same solution as Jacobus de Vitriaco and Sæwulf, but the latter author adds the remarkable statement, that the sepulchre then shown was no longer that in which the body of Christ had been laid, the latter having been cut out of the solid rock, while the then sepulchre was formed out of a multitude of stones cemented together.⁴ Gretser in 1598,⁵ and Quæresmius in 1616-25, refer to the objections started in their time by some whom the latter calls "misty western heretics,"⁶ and the difficulty was broadly enunciated by Monconys in 1647.⁷ It was not, however, until 1741 that the site was openly declared to be false by Kortens.⁸

The attack of the latter writer was followed up in greater detail by Plessing in 1789,⁹ and in England by Dr. Edward Clarke in 1810.¹⁰ The

¹ For Sæwulf, see "Recueil de Voyages (Société de Géographie,") Paris, 1839, 4, 840; for Willebrand, "Leonis Alatii Συμμυκτα," Coln. Agr. 1653, p. 146; and for Jac. de Vitriaco, Bongar's "Gesta Dei per Francos," Hanov. 1611, p. 1079. The first and last expressly mention Hadrian; Willebrand states that the site was without the wall until after the destruction of the city by Titus, which is equivalent.

² Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ. Canisii Thesaurus, Antwerpæ, 1725, iv. pp. 17, 21.—"Est autem Jerusalem," he writes, "civitas valde magna, et non est verum quod quidam dicunt, eam in loco alio ædificatam esse quam fuerit tempore passionis, argumentantes quod Dominus fuerit extra portam passus, et nunc ipse locus sit intra mœnia civitatis, et ideo sit in alio loco. Isti errant, nec sciunt quid loquantur, civitas enim in latitudine ampliata est, sed nihilominus civitas antiqua adhuc cum toto monte Sion est ædificata," &c.

³ Peregrinatores Medii Ævi Quatuor;—Laurent. Lips. 1864, p. 149.

⁴ "Hodæporicon ad Terram Sanctam,"—Canisii Thesaurus, iv. p. 348-9.

⁵ Gretser, "De Cruce Christi." Ingolstadt, 1598, book i. cap. 17.

⁶ "Nonnullos nebulosæ occidentales hæreticos." Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio, Antwerpæ, 1639, ii. p. 515. nes

⁷ Speaking of the so-called 'Gate of Judgment,' he says it is "the gate by which Jesus Christ went to Calvary, which therefore ought to be outside the city; which is difficult to conceive, for at present it is in the middle, although the town is now much smaller than it was then."—Voyages, i. 307.

⁸ Jonas Kortens's "Reis nach den gelobten Lande." Altona, 1741.

⁹ "Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab," von Johann Friedrich Plessing. Halle, 1789.

¹⁰ "Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa," by Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D., 4to, 6 vols., Cambridge, 1810-23. The Account of Jerusalem is in the 2nd volume.

*R*extravagant theories, however, propounded by Dr. Clarke,¹ in regard to the whole topography of Jerusalem, deprived his arguments as to the holy Sepulchre of any real weight, nor was it until the appearance of the Biblical Researches of Dr. Robinson of New York, in 1841,² that the attention of inquirers in this country can be said to have been seriously drawn to the subject.

In this elaborate work, in many respects the most important that has appeared on the geography of Palestine, the author minutely investigated the claims of the present site of the Sepulchre, both on topographical and historical grounds, and pronounced them to be wholly without foundation. His book, in the later stages of the controversy, has been generally referred to, by those who adopt his views, as exhaustive on the subject. Its publication called forth energetic replies from Dr. Newman,³ and Mr. Williams,⁴ the latter of whom subsequently republished his work on the Holy City in two large volumes,⁵ which, to the upholder of tradition, may be said to occupy the same position as those of the American author to its opponents.⁶ *JS*

In 1852 Dr. Robinson revisited the Holy Land, and in a supplementary volume recapitulated and enforced his opinions on the subject in question,⁷ and among other writers by whom, within the last few years, the locality has been discussed on *topographical* grounds, may be mentioned as worthy of note, on the one side—as impugning the authenticity of the present site—M. Coquerel,⁸ a writer in the Dublin University Magazine for September

¹ Dr. Clarke held the so-called Hill of Evil Counsel to have been Sion, and the valley between it and the modern Jerusalem, generally known as the valley of Hinnom, to have been the Tyropæon of Josephus. In this he was followed by Mr. Buckingham, ("Travels in Palestine," by J. S. Buckingham, 4to, Lond. 1821,) who, however, was disposed, while admitting the modern Golgotha to have been always within the walls, to allow its identity with the scene of Christ's suffering.

² Robinson's "Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petrea," 3 vols., 8vo, Lond. 1841.

³ Essay on the Miracles recorded in Ecclesiastical History prefixed to Translation of Fleury's

"Ecclesiastical History to end of 4th Century," Oxford, 1842.

⁴ "The Holy City," by the Rev. George Williams, M.A., Lond. 1845.

⁵ "The Holy City," second edition, 2 vols., 8vo., Lond. 1849.

⁶ Dr. Robinson replied to Dr. Newman and Mr. Williams in the American "Bibliotheca Sacra" for 1843, and to the latter—on the appearance of his revised work—in the same Journal for 1846.

⁷ Published in 1856 separately, and also as vol. iii. of the second edition of the "Biblical Researches."

⁸ "Topographie de Jerusalem," thèse par Athanase Coquerel, 8vo, Strasbourg, 1843.

1845; Dr. John Wilson;¹ Mr. Fergusson;² Dr. Tobler of St. Gall;³ the author of a very elaborate essay in the Museum of Classical Antiquities for 1853;⁴ Dr. Barclay;⁵ Dr. Bonar;⁶ the Rabbi Schwartz;⁷ M. Langlois;⁸ Mr. Sandie;⁹ Mr. Smith;¹⁰ and Captain Conder;¹¹ and on the other—Lord Nugent;¹² Dr. Schultz;¹³ Herr Krafft;¹⁴ Herr Schaffter;¹⁵ Professor Fallmerayer;¹⁶ M. de Saulcy;¹⁷ the Abbe Michon;¹⁸ Mr. Thrupp;¹⁹ M.

¹ "The Lands of the Bible," by John Wilson, D.D., 2 vols., Edin. 1847.

² "An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem," by James Fergusson, 4to, Lond. 1847; Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," Lond. 1860—art. Jerusalem; "Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem," Lond. 1861; "The Holy Sepulchre and the Temple at Jerusalem," Lond. 1865; "The Temples of the Jews and the other Buildings in the Haram Area at Jerusalem," 4to, Lond. 1878.

³ "Golgatha, seine Kirchen und Klöster." St. Gall and Berne, 1851. "Topographie von Jerusalem und seinen Umgebungen," 2 vols., Berlin, 1853-4. "Denkblätter aus Jerusalem," Constance, 1856, by Titus Tobler, M.D.

⁴ See also, by the same writer, "The Book of Psalms of David, the King and Prophet," with an essay on "The Zion of David restored to David," by E. F., Lond. 1875.

⁵ "The City of the Great King," by J. T. Barclay, M.D., Philadelphia and London, 1857.

⁶ "The Land of Promise," by Horatius Bonar, D.D., Lond. 1857; 2nd edition, 1858. Fairbairn's "Imperial Bible Dictionary," Lond. 1866—art. Jerusalem.

⁷ "Descriptive Geography of Palestine," by Rabbi Joseph Schwartz, translated by Alexander Leper, Philadelphia, 1858.

⁸ "Un Chapitre inédit de la Question des Lieux Saints," par Victor Langlois, Paris, 1861.

⁹ "Horeb and Jerusalem," by the Rev. George Sandie, Edin. 1864.

¹⁰ "The Temple and the Sepulchre," by S. Smith, Lond. 1865.

¹¹ "Papers in Quarterly Statement of Palestine Exploration Fund;" "Tent Work in Palestine," 2 v., Lond. 1878; "A Handbook to the Bible," Lond. 1879; "The High Sanctuary at Jerusalem," a Paper read before the Institute of British Architects, 1878, p. 25; "The Topography of Jerusalem," a Paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 15 March, 1880, vol. 10 of Transactions; Papers in "Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem," Palestine Exploration Fund, Lond. 1884.

¹² "Lands Classical and Sacred," by Lord Nugent, 2 vols. Lond. 1845.

¹³ "Jerusalem: eine Verlesung," von Dr. Ernest Gustav Schultz, Berlin, 1848.

¹⁴ "Die Topographie Jerusalem's," von W. Krafft, Bonn, 1846.

¹⁵ "Die Ächte Lage des Heiligen Grabes," von Albert Schaffter, Berne, 1849.

¹⁶ "Denkschrift über Gulgatha und das Heilige Grab;" from the Transactions of the Academy of Bavaria, and published separately, Munich, 1852.

¹⁷ "Voyage autour de la Mer Morte et dans les Terres Bibliques," par F. de Saulcy, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1853; and in English, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1853; "Voyage en Terre Sainte," 2 vols., Paris, 1865; "Les Derniers Jours de Jerusalem," Paris, 1866.

¹⁸ "Voyage Religieux en Orient," par M. l'Abbe Michon, 2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1854.

¹⁹ "Antient Jerusalem: a New Investigation into the History, Topography, and Plan of the City, Environs, and Temple," by Joseph Francis Thrupp, M.A. 8vo, Cambridge, 1855.

le Comte de Vogue;¹ Mr. Lewin;² Signor Pierrotti;³ the Abbé Coulomb;⁴ Herr Caspari;⁵ and Sir Charles Warren.⁶

I propose in this chapter to state, as succinctly as possible, the arguments that have been maintained on either side by these several writers so far as they can be dealt with apart from the historical proofs, the consideration of which I reserve for the present.

The only direct statements to be found in Scripture as to the site of Calvary, are, that it was "near the city"⁷ and "without the gate;"⁸ and as to the site of the sepulchre of Christ, that it was in a garden "in the place where he was crucified,"⁹ and that the watch proceeding from the sepulchre to the chief priests "came *into* the city."¹⁰ The first requisites therefore of any locality professing to be that which witnessed the burial and resurrection of our Lord would seem to be, that it should, at the period when these events took place, have been *without* the walls of Jerusalem.

The site of Jerusalem is the southern extremity of a table-land jutting out to east and south-east from the range of hills which extend, between

¹ "Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte," par le Comte Melchior de Vogue, Paris, 1860; "Le Temple de Jerusalem," par le Comte Melchior de Vogue, folio, Paris, 1864-5.

² "A Sketch of the City and Temple at Jerusalem," by Thomas Lewin, 8vo, Lond. 1861: afterwards incorporated in a larger work by the same author, "The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus, with the Journal of a Recent Visit, &c.," 8vo, Lond. 1863.

³ "Jerusalem Explored, being a Description of the Ancient and Modern City," with numerous illustrations at, by Ermete Pierrotti; translated by T. G. Bonney, M.A., 2 vols. folio, Lond. 1864.

⁴ "Le Calvaire et Jerusalem d'après le Bible et Joseph," par M. l'Abbe P. F. Coulomb, Paris, 1866.

⁵ "A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ," by Ch. Ed. Caspari; translated by M. J. Evans, Edin. 1876.

⁶ "Papers in Quarterly Statements of Palestine Exploration Fund"; "The Recovery of

Jerusalem," Lond. 1871; "Underground Jerusalem," Lond. 1876; "The Temple and the Tomb," Lond. 1880; "The Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem," *ut supra*.

⁷ John, 19, 20,—The received text reads "ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν τῆς πόλεως ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς," but the great bulk of the MSS. read "ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἦν ὁ τόπος τῆς πόλεως," and this reading is adopted by Alford as by Scholz and Tischendorf. Mr. Buckton in "Notes and Queries" (2nd Series, ii. 97) argues, that according to this latter reading, (translating it, "the part of the city where Jesus was crucified was nigh,") Calvary must have been *within* Jerusalem. The passage, however, cited below from Matthew seems decisive.

⁸ Hebrews xiii. 12,—"Ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπαθεν." Mr. Buckton (see previous note) would explain this as spoken, "for the allegorical purpose of the writer," of the Temple.

⁹ John xix. 41, "Ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη."

¹⁰ Matthew xxviii. 11, "Ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν."

the Mediterranean and the Jordan, from the plain of Esdraelon to the Desert of the Tih. This table-land, itself upwards of 2,000 feet above the sea, is bounded on the north and east by the valley of the Kedron, or, as it is commonly called, the valley of Jehoshaphat, which, opening out to the north-west of the city, continues to fall towards the east and south-east until, at a point nearly due north of the north-east corner of the modern wall, it rapidly curves to the south, increasing gradually in depth. Where it skirts the eastern wall of the city, its depth even now is from 158 to 212 feet, and at Siloam it is 440 feet below the surface of the modern Zion. On the west and south the city is in like manner bounded by another valley, commonly called that of Hinnom, which, starting also to the north-west, but on the other side of the quasi-isthmus which unites the plateau with the mountain region, curves inwards towards the south, until nearly opposite the western or Jaffa Gate, when, gradually increasing in depth, it—first in a southerly and then in an easterly direction—sweeps the base of the modern Zion, and falls into the valley of Jehoshaphat near Siloam. The annexed sketch will show the situation of these valleys and of the modern town in connection with them more clearly than many words.

[*Here insert in text (as done in Help's Spanish Conquest) woodcuts of hills and valleys of Jerusalem.*]

Greatly as the level of the ground in and around the city itself has been affected by the accumulated rubbish of centuries, a valley of considerable depth towards the south, and distinctly traceable throughout, is still apparent, dividing the city from north to south, with a branch diverging towards the west in the direction of the Jaffa Gate, and another but less marked depression running eastwards near the northern boundary of the Haram enclosure and separating the latter from the Mohammedan quarter of the modern town.

Such are the general characteristics of the site as they strike the eye of a visitor at the present day. It will be for many reasons convenient that I here subjoin the account of that site as given by Josephus, writing about forty years after the death of Christ.¹

“Jerusalem, fortified by three walls—except where it was encompassed “by its impassable ravines, for then it had but a single rampart—was built, “the one division fronting the other, on two hills, separated by an intervening

¹ Bell. Jud. v. 4, 1. See original of this and the three following sections given in Appendix A. When I quote from the Wars of the Jews, I adopt the translation of Dr. Traill in

“The Jewish Wars of Josephus”—edited, with notes, by Isaac Taylor, 2 vols., 8vo. Lond., 1854, except where I employ italics in the text.

“valley, at which the rows of houses terminated. Of these hills, that on which the upper town was situated is much the higher and straighter in its length. Accordingly, on account of its strength, it was styled the Fortress¹ by King David, the father of Solomon, by whom the Temple was originally erected; but by us, the Upper Market-place. The other, which bears the name of Acra, and supports the lower town, is of a gibbous form.² Opposite to this was a third hill, naturally lower than *the Acra*,³ and formerly severed by it from another broad ravine. Afterwards, however, the Asmonæans during their reign filled up the ravine with the intention of uniting the city to the temple; and levelling the summit of *the Acra*, they reduced its elevation, so that the temple might be conspicuous above other objects in that quarter also. The valley of the Cheesemakers, as it was designated, which divided, as we have said, the hill of the upper town from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam, as we call it, a fountain whose waters are at once sweet and copious. On the exterior the two hills on which the city stood were skirted by deep ravines, so precipitous on either side that the town was nowhere accessible.”

The exact interpretation of many of the details of this passage has been the subject of endless controversy. I have ventured to give my own views in the Appendix,⁴ but shall gladly dispense here with what might only tend to confuse the reader.

At the time of Christ, and up to ten or twelve years after the crucifixion, the city was surrounded by two walls. About the latter date a third was added to the number. The description of these by Josephus is as follows:—

“Of the three walls, the most ancient, as well from the ravines which surrounded it, as from the hill above these on which it was erected, was almost impregnable. But besides the advantages of its situation, it was also strongly built; David and Solomon, as well as their successors on the throne, having devoted much attention to the work. Beginning on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and extending to what was termed the Xystus, it then formed a junction with the council house, and terminated at the western colonnade of the Temple. On the other side, towards the west, beginning at the same tower, it stretched through Bethso, as it was styled, to the gate of the Essenes. It then turned, and advanced with a southern

¹ φρουριον.

² αμφικυρτος.

³ της Ακρας.

⁴ Appendix B. “The Jerusalem of Josephus.”

⁵ Bell. Jud. v. 4, 2,—See original in appendix A.

"aspect above the fountain of Siloam, whence it again inclined, facing the
"east, towards Solomon's reservoir, and extending to a certain spot designated
"Ophla, it joined the eastern colonnade of the Temple.

"The second had its beginning at the gate which they called Gennath,
"belonging to the first wall. It reached to the Antonia, and encircled only
"the northern quarter of the town. The tower Hippicus formed the com-
"mencement of the third wall, which stretched from thence towards the
"northern quarter, as far as the tower of Psaphicus, and then passing opposite
"the monuments of Hebner, Queen of Adiabene, and mother of King Izates,
"and extending *by*¹ the royal caverns, was inflected at the corner tower near
"to spot known by the appellation of the Fuller's Tomb; and connecting itself
"with the old wall, terminated at the valley called Kedron. This wall
"Agrippa had thrown round the new-built town, which was quite unprotected;
"for the city, overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond the ram-
"parts; and the people, incorporating with the city the quarter north of the
"Temple close to the hill, made a considerable advance, insomuch that a
"fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, was also surrounded with habitations.
"It lay over against the Antonia, from which it was separated by a deep
"fosse, properly excavated to cut off the communication between the founda-
"tions of the Antonia and the hill, that they might be at once less easy of
"access and more elevated. Thus the depth of the trench materially increased
"the altitude of the towers."

The probable course of the northern side of the first or oldest of these walls, as generally admitted by all the writers above referred to, with the exception of Fergusson,² Bonar,³ Schwartz,⁴ and Sandie,⁵ is shewn in the annexed sketch. It is only with the northern side that we have to do. From some point in that northern side the second wall took its departure.

[*Here insert in text sketch of first wall according to Robinson and Fergusson.*]

Of that second wall, all that we are told by Josephus is, that "it had its
"beginning at the gate which they called Gennath, belonging to the first
"wall," and that "it reached to the Antonia, and encircled only the
"northern quarter of the town."⁶

With the exception of the four writers above referred to, all—so far as I

¹ *Ida.*

² "Topography of Jerusalem," p. 36.

³ "The Land of Promise," pp. 497-501.

⁴ "Descriptive Geography of Palestine," pp. 250-2.

⁵ Horeb and Jerusalem, p. 256.

⁶ Bell. Jud. v. 4, 2.

am aware—who have written on either side of this subject, have either assumed the identity of Hippicus with the present so-called Castle of David, or placed it a few feet to the west of the latter,¹ but still, in the immediate vicinity of the Jaffa or western gate of the modern city. Premising that the tower of Antonia was close, or contiguous, to the north or north-western wall of the Temple, let us see whether in its course this “second wall” must be held to have included or excluded the modern Calvary and the modern Sepulchre.

I. The gate Gennath, from which the second wall took its departure, cannot be supposed to have been much to the east of Hippicus.²

(1.) The city, Josephus informs us, was in his time “fortified by three walls, except where it was encompassed by impassable ravines.”³ But had this gate, from whence the second wall started, stood where it is located by Williams, there would have been nearly 800 feet, or more than one half, of

[Here insert sketch of second wall according to Robinson, Williams, and Lewin.]

the northern face of the old city, protected “only by a single wall before the time of Agrippa, and by only two walls (instead of three) at the time of which Josephus was writing,”⁴ the third wall starting as it did from Hippicus.

(2.) There is no record of any attack upon the old city,—that, namely, surrounded by the first wall,—until the second wall had first been taken; presumably, therefore, to the north (from whence these attacks invariably came) it was guarded by the second wall as well as by the first.

(3.) We are told by Josephus that, during the siege by Titus, when the Romans were assaulting the third or outer wall, and it began to give way, the Jews, “from an indolent spirit, and from the fatality which attended all their plans, thought it superfluous to guard the wall, as *two others* would still remain.”⁵

(4.) The first attack by Titus against this third or outer wall was made “opposite to the monument of John, the high priest; for, at this point,

¹ See, for instance, Williams' “Holy City,” p. 14-16; De Vogue, “Le Temple,” p. 112, plate xxxvi. De Sauley, “Voyage en Terre Sainte,” ii, 40.

² That it must have been to the east, is certain, as the third wall, enclosing a large tract to the north of the city, started from Hippicus. Coulomb, after a storm of abuse against his adversaries, according to his custom, is forced

to admit that the gate was *near* Hippicus. p. 256.

³ Bell. Jud. v. 4, 1.

⁴ Robinson, iii. 214; Bibliotheca Sacra, 1846, p. 444; Dub. Univ. Mag., Sept. 1845, p. 272; Tobler, “Top. Jerus.” i. 102.

⁵ Bell. Jud. v. 7, 2; Lewin's “Siege of Jerusalem,” p. 360; Tobler, “Top. Jerus.” i. 109.

the outer bulwark was lower, and the second was not connected (*και το δευτερον ου συνηπτεν*), the builders having neglected to fortify those places where the new town was thinly inhabited; but there was easy access to the third (*i.e.*, the inner, or what we have hitherto styled the first or oldest) wall, through which he designed to capture the upper town, and, through the Antonia, the temple."¹

As Dr. Robinson has argued,² this seems to imply that "the second wall, which strictly began from the gate Gennath in the first wall, had been suffered to fall into decay after the building of Agrippa's outer wall, so that it was now no longer actually joined to the first wall at that point." And, as it appears from the above passage, that—had it been in good repair—it would have proved a serious obstacle to Titus' attack, it must, with the Gennath gate, have been in the immediate vicinity of the outer wall, or, in other words, of Hippicus, from which that outer wall started.

Mr. Williams denies this inference,³ and maintains that if the passage quoted from Josephus is "to be allowed any intelligible signification," it must be taken as implying "that there was a considerable interval between the outer and second rampart, and a large piece of the Zion (first) wall unmasked by the second within the line first assailed by Titus." But the literal rendering of the words as given above is supported (*a*) by the reason which Josephus gives for the breach at the junction, or what should have been the junction of the first and second walls, *viz.*, that the Jews had been negligent in walling up that part—any reference to which important fact is omitted both by Williams and Lewin;⁴ and (*b*) by the statement of Josephus that, after the capture of the outer wall, the Jews, under Simon, immediately began to repair the second at this very spot,—an interpretation, however, of these words which Mr. Williams disputes, though, as it seems to me, without success.⁵

¹ Bell. Jud. v. 6, 2; Robinson iii. 216.—Bib. Sacra, 1846, p. 446.

² Bib. Sacra, *ut supra*.

³ "Holy City," ii. 22; see, also, Lewin, p. 358.

⁴ "Siege of Jerusalem," p. 359.—Mr. Lewin, quoting the Greek text, supplies the place of this by asterisks; a curious proof of how wary one should be as to what may, or may not be, of importance in a quotation

⁵ "Holy City," ii. 21, note.—The question turns upon the statement (Bell. Jud. v. 7, 3) that Simon's band, intercepting the attack near John's monument *εφραξαντο την εμβολην* as far as the gate through which water was introduced into the tower Hippicus. The Greek words quoted are translated by Robinson (Bib. Sacra, 1846, p. 446, note) "fortified the point of attack," by Traill, and, as implied, by Williams, "manned the intervening space." Mr. Williams

(5.) The attack on the outer or third wall was made, as we have seen, "opposite to," or "at" the monument of John (κατα το Ιωαννου του ιερεως μνημειον),—and when that wall was taken, and the assault about to commence upon the second, we are told that while John and his party fought from the Antonia, the north colonnade of the Temple, and in front of the monument of king Alexander, "Simon's band, intercepting the assault near John's monument, fortified (or "manned) the intervening space as far as the gate through which the water "was introduced to the tower Hippicus." From this passage we gather that the monument of John was in the immediate proximity of both the outer and second walls, which must necessarily at this point (that, namely, where they both united with the first) have been close to each other.¹

But if, says Mr. Williams, the second and third walls were so near at their several junctions with the first wall, then for a considerable distance they must have continued almost parallel, "within a few yards one of another;"² and Titus, during his attack on the outer, "would be within easy reach of the "missiles discharged from the second wall, and—the breach effected—would "have to march his soldiers through it in face of a fire from the same ram- "part."³ To the first of these objections, I reply that I see no such necessity. The peculiar formation of the ground, according to Mr. Williams' own

defends the latter reading by a reference to a note of Sweighhauser on a similar use of φρασσω by Herodotus (ix. 70), "Mihi hoc loco (φρασσαῖ το τεῖχος) significare videtur *prolegere*, defendere murum; nempe ut ipsi propugnatores quasi (φραγμος) essent, quo murus defenderetur.—Conf. Æsch. Sept. Cont. Theb., v. 63, φραξαι πολισμα." I may remark on this (1) that such a use of φρασσειν is undoubtedly uncommon; (2) that in the passage of Herodotus in question, the word is susceptible of the ordinary interpretation; and (3) that in the line taken from Æschylus the ordinary translation even lends added force to the meaning of the poet. Mr. Buckley translates: "Do thou then, like the clever helmsman of a vessel, *fence* our city before the breath of Mars burst like a hurricane upon it," and adds in a note, "Perhaps we might render φραξαι, '*dam*,' in order to keep up the metaphor of the ship. Conf. Hom. Od., v. 346 (φραξε δε μιν ριππεσσι διδμυρατες ουσινησι). The closing the ports of

a vessel to keep out the water will best convey the meaning to modern readers."

If it be argued (see "Holy City," ii. 21) that it is hardly likely that Titus should have allowed the Jews—the outer wall being taken—to have repaired the second, it may be replied that there is no proof, and little likelihood, that during the fourteen days that had elapsed from the commencement of the siege, no progress had been made in such reconstruction; and that subsequently the Jews proved themselves able, after the Romans had entered, but been driven back, to defend an open breach in the same wall, for three days, or more than a third of the whole period during which the attack on the second wall lasted. (Bell. Jud., v. 8, 2). Besides, the question naturally occurs, How—if there were no wall here—could Simon and his band "man" it?

¹ Robinson, iii. 216.

² "Holy City," ii. 20.

³ "Holy City," ii. 21.

plan,¹ allows, and even suggests, that while at its junction with the first, the second wall might well start due north, the third or outer wall should at once strike away from Hippicus to the north-west. As to the second objection, apart from what has been pointed out above as to the want of repair of the second wall in this locality, the difficulty seems rather to apply to the position of the *first*, which, strongly fortified as it was, must have been at least as near the monument of John² as there seems any reason for supposing the second to have been.

6. After the capture of the second wall, Titus proceeded to attack the first, which was defended towards the north (in the line of the wall) by the three towers, Hippicus, Phasæle, and Marianne.³ For this purpose he erected, after seventeen days' toil, two embankments, one at the monument of John and the other 30 cubits off, to the east, at the pool called Amygdalon.⁴ If I mistake not, this will enable us to identify the position of the Genneth gate within a few feet.

For, by whomsoever the pool Amygdalon was constructed, there appears to be little doubt that it must be the same as that now known by the name of Hezekiah, and called by the Arabs Birket Hamman el Batrak.⁵ The dimensions of this pool are about 240 feet by 144. "The bottom is rock, levelled "and covered with cement, and on the west side the rock is cut down for some depth."⁶ Is it in the least degree probable, is it even conceivable, that the builders of the second wall should have so regulated its course as to have left *outside* a cistern so important to the city, dependant as the latter was upon artificial reservoirs for water?⁷ Now, if Amygdalon was within the second

¹ "Smith's Dict. of Ant. Geography"—Art. Jerusalem (by Mr. Williams) ii. 16.

² The monument of John was chosen by Titus as the site of one of the embankments subsequently raised against the first wall,—Bell. Jud. v. 11, 4 — and these embankments were so near the latter that, on the rams used against the wall being set on fire, the flames extended to them also (Bell. Jud. v. 11, 5.)

³ Bell. Jud. v. 4 4.

⁴ Evidently to the east, for the four embankments raised along the whole extent of the northern face are mentioned in order thus, beginning from the east—(1) one at Antonia opposite the middle of the pool called Struthios,

(2) one 20 cubits from the first, (3) one at Amygdalon, and (4) one at the high priest's monument 30 cubits from the third.—Bell. Jud. v. 11, 4.

⁵ This is the opinion of Schultz—see his map; of Williams, "Holy City," i. Suppl. p. 18; of De Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte* ii. 32, and "Siege of Jerusalem, 113."

⁶ Robinson, i. 329; See the Views by Bartlett; "Walks about Jerusalem," p. 86; and Pierrotti, "Jerusalem Explored," Plate xxxi. The Domes to the back are over the present Church of the Sepulchre.

⁷ Dr. Robinson writes (Bib. Sacra, 1843, p. 200)—"A reservoir of such extent, receiving its

wall (which will explain why the latter required to be taken by Titus before he could raise an embankment at that pool against the first), the second wall must have passed to the west of it, between it and the monument of John, which, as we have seen, stood between the third and second walls. As the space between the pool and the monument was 30 cubits, or about 50 feet, it follows that a point in the line of the first wall some 20 or 15 feet west of the prolongation southwards of the western wall of the reservoir will designate the locality of the Gennath gate.¹

I have reserved for the Appendix² the consideration of what was the Akra of Josephus, in which some writers appear to think is involved the question whether in his day the Tyropœon (or valley of the Cheesemakers), described by him as the valley "at which the rows of houses [on either side] terminated,"³ bent sharply to the west, and terminated at or near the Jaffa gate. If indeed such a valley, presumably from the description of considerable depth and steepness, sloped gradually up to Hippicus, the antiquity of the Gennath gate to the latter would become a sort of necessity, as it is absurd to suppose a city gate on the brink of a deep ravine.

Whether, however, the depression which stretches westwards from the central valley be the one referred to by the historian or not, a depression there certainly is, and a very marked one, and deepening rapidly to the east; so increasing the unfitness of the site of the Gennath gate for the starting northwards of the second wall by every yard we carry that site eastwards along the line of the first.⁴

II. Had the second wall excluded the present site of the Sepulchre, it must have been carried in a line curiously ill-adapted for the defence of the city. The ground on which the present church is built slopes downwards from the ridge now occupied by the city wall to the central valley with a nearly uniform descent; and, consequently, had the second wall crossed this slope

water from another pool higher up, would not be likely to be formed close to the wall of the city on the *outside*, where of course it would benefit only besiegers and not the besieged. The whole appearance is, that it had a military purpose, and was intended to treasure up within the city the waters from the upper pool in case of a siege." See also Tobler "Top. Jerus." i. 104.

¹ Barclay "The City of the Great King," p. 131.

² See Appendix B—On the Jerusalem of Josephus.

³ Bell. Jud. v. 4, 1.

⁴ Robinson, i. 312, note 7; Bib. Sacra, 1846, p. 442. See contour plan referred to in next note.

below the present building, it would have been effectually "overlooked, and commanded by the higher ground on the west and north-west."¹

This seems to me an objection to the "traditional" course of the wall almost conclusive in itself, yet the only answer I have found proposed to it is that "it is a disadvantage, but the Tyropœon must be crossed," and that "the disadvantage would be obviated in some measure by artificial defences."² True, the Tyropœon must be crossed, but both the present wall, and that imagined by Williams, who uses the expression, cross it at the same point, to wit, the Damascus gate, the present wall, however, being carried along the crest of the ridge of which we have spoken; and it is paying but a poor tribute to the Jewish architects to believe that they should have gratuitously preferred a line which necessitated "artificial defences," whatever these may mean, to one which would have secured them a commanding position along a great portion of that side of their city most open to attack. One can hardly fancy, in any case, a line of fortification deliberately chosen some three hundred yards, or more, down the slope of a hill; yet, such an error, had it been committed in the case of the first wall, would have been comparatively trivial, guarded as that part of Jerusalem, which the first wall encompassed, was, by deep and precipitous ravines, to what it would have been in the case of the second, which defended the city on the side from which the table land, on the extremity of which it was built, stretched in comparative level away to the north and north-west.

III. Had the second wall excluded the present site of the Sepulchre, the space enclosed by it must have been curiously small.³ Had it gone straight

¹ Robinson in *Bib. Sacra*, 1846, p. 450. See also "*Biblical Researches*," i. 312, and iii. 218; Kortens, 177-8; Plessing, xvii., xxvi. 208; Wilson's "*Lands of the Bible*," i. 436; Dr. Richardson's "*Travels along the Mediterranean and spots adjacent*," 2 vols., 8vo., Lond., 1822, ii. 351; *Dub. University Mag.*, 1845, p. 272. This is admitted by Thrupp (p. 103) who, however, draws his wall, as we shall presently see, in quite another locality. "The ground outside of the Church of the Sepulchre is 25 to 30 feet higher on the north-west than on the east and south-east sides (Enck und Gruber, *Encyclopædie*, art. *Jerus.* s. 315 b.)"—*Museum of Clas. Antiq.*, April, 1853, p. 327, note. The recent excavations in the Muristan to the south of the

Church of the Sepulchre have added increased force to this argument. The site on which the Church stands seems literally to have been something like the brink of a cliff rising some 40 or 50 feet above any line of the second wall that can be drawn to exclude it, and backed by still higher ground beyond.—See contour plan in Conder's "*Tent Work in Palestine*," i. p. 365.

² "*Holy City*," ii. 55. See also Lewin—"*Siege of Jerusalem*," p. 355—"As the ground was naturally so unfavourable for defence, the only resource was to strengthen the fortification by a deep fosse."

³ Kortens, 176; Wilson, i. 436. *Dub. Univ. Mag.*, 272.

from the Gennath gate to Antonio, placed as far north as it is possible to place Antonia (Nugent would have it even take a concave bend)¹ the area enclosed would have been a triangle of about 600 yards on the south and 400 on the east side.² And should Mr. Williams' view be taken, and the line stretched north from his Gennath gate to the Damascus gate and thence back to Antonia, the enclosure would have formed a narrow parallelogram not more than 350 yards in breadth,—in other words, not much wider than the present Haram area.³

It has been said, that according to Josephus, this must have been the case. And passing over the argument "that even the shortness of the description given of the wall by Josephus may be taken as evidence that the wall itself was not long,"⁴ I must admit that what the Jewish historian tells us regarding the number of towers upon this wall seems difficult to reconcile with any great idea of its comparative length. His words are: "Of such towers (20 cubits in breadth) the third wall had ninety, disposed at intervals of 200 cubits. The middle wall was divided into 14 towers, and the ancient one into 60. Of the city the entire circuit was 33 furlongs."⁵ The inference would appear to be, that the proportionate length of the second wall to the first must have been—to put it arithmetically—somewhat as 14 to 60, and to the third as 14 to 90.

But the whole passage presents a perfect labyrinth of confusion. Taking it literally as it stands, and estimating in each case one additional space, as well as the breadth of the several towers in the length of each wall, we have the first or oldest wall 21,132 feet long, the second 5,039, and the third or outer 31,666, while the whole circumference of the city is only 33 stadia, or 20,025 feet! It is clear that there is here some radical blunder. Mr. Beldam⁶ would consider "the distance, 200 cubits (the interval between the towers), as a misreading for a 100, and observes that the latter was in accordance with the Vitruvian rule of fortification." This would go somewhat to satisfy the requirements of the walls as laid down in Schultz's Map, on which, while (roughly given) the whole circuit of the city is about 20,000 feet, or curiously near the 33 stadia of Josephus, the first wall is about 8,800 feet long, and the third about 13,700; while as to the second, according to

¹ "Lands, Classical and Sacred," ii. 38.

² Robinson, i. 312.

³ Bib. Sacra, 1846, p. 450; Robinson, iii. 218.

⁴ Thrupp's "Antient Jerusalem," p. 104.

⁵ Bell. Jud. v. 4, 3.

⁶ "Italy and the East," ii. p. 128 (quoted by Thrupp, p. 106, note). The Abbe Goulomb would read 20 for 200, p. 250.

Schultz's own view, it was 3,700 feet or thereby, though according to mine about 5,000. But the discrepancies seem still to be quite hopelessly great, and to the comparative fewness of the towers stated to have been erected along the second, I can only oppose the curious fact that on Josephus' own showing the actual length of that wall (considered by itself) was as nearly as possible what I have drawn it as being in my map of the ancient city.¹

IV. But what if Hippicus be not the modern so-called Citadel of David? The case can only become more hopeless in every way for the defenders of tradition. I have discussed this identification in the Appendix,² here I need only point out, that no one has ever imagined Hippicus as having been further *south* than the present Jaffa gate, and with every yard of its location northwards from that locality the difficulty of excluding the Sepulchre from the circuit of the second wall must of course increase. The only writers, as I have mentioned above, who have questioned the ordinary position assigned to the tower, so far as I am aware, are Bonar, Schwartz, Fergusson, and Sandie. Of these the first³ does not suggest any other locality, the second⁴ identifies Hippicus with "a high rocky hill, north of the so-called Grotto of Jeremiah"⁵ and far beyond the northern limits of the modern city, and the third⁶ and fourth⁷ with the ruins of an ancient tower, now known under the name of Kasr Dschalud, at the north-west corner of the modern walls, and generally identified with the tower "Psephinos." According to these theories, the present site of the Sepulchre must be held to have been included within the circuit, not of the second wall, but of the first wall itself.

V. Writers on both sides of the question have pressed into their service the remains of ancient buildings which have been found in the district traversed by the second wall according to each. I do not believe that—at least with our present knowledge of the city—any sound argument can be

¹ That is 5,039 feet—as against 5,000 feet.—See on this point, Thrupp, *ut supra*; Krafft, p. 258; Lewin, p. 363; Fergusson, "Top. of Jerus." p. 43. The latter writer, who is usually most accurate, has been misled (probably by an error in Whiston) into supposing that Josephus makes 40 and not 14 towers to have stood along the second wall, but finds the excess as hard to make sense of as I have found the deficiency. He corrects the error in his "Temples of the Jews." For the map referred to see end of volume.

² See Appendix B, on the "Jerusalem of Josephus."

³ "The Land of Promise," App. p. 497-501.

⁴ "Geography of Palestine," p. 251.

⁵ "The life of our Lord upon the Earth," by the Rev. S. I. Andrews, Lond. 1863, p. 483, where will be found a very good analysis of the leading arguments adduced on either side of the topographical question.

⁶ "Topography of Jerusalem," p. 37.

⁷ "Horeb. and Jerusalem," Plans, pp. 256, 7.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE LOCATION OF THE SITES ON THE EASTERN HILL.

By the universal consent of topographers the temples of Solomon and of Herod were situated somewhere within the limits of the sacred inclosure of the Mahometans—the Haram-es-Sherif—which stretches along the summit of the Eastern Hill, the Sion of the Bible,¹ the Acra of Josephus.² An oblong area of about 35 acres, it is at the present day nearly level, but this apparent uniformity has been attained by the expenditure of the labours of many centuries. The accompanying plan, an enlargement of part of the plate which forms the frontispiece of this work, shows as nearly as can be arrived at from actual observation, the contours of the original rock, but much of these, and in especial the whole of the south-western corner, is conjectural, the actual ascertainment of the rock level within the area being comparatively few. The exact length of the walls which enclose it are as follows :—The west 1601 feet, the east, 1530 feet, the north 1042 feet, and the south 922 feet.³ The south-west angle alone is a right angle. These walls, as every visitor to Jerusalem knows, comprise in their circuit the most stupendous relics of ancient masonry in the city. The south-east angle contains a stone of over 100 tons in weight, and even now rises 160 feet above the level of the rock on which it is based, while the height of the south-west angle is 115 feet above its foundation.⁴

Somewhere on this plateau stood the Temple, but where? The great majority of writers tell us in or about the centre, and embracing within its area the rock which is now covered by the Dome of the Rock,⁵

¹ See above, page .

² See appendix B. page .

³ Conder, "Ency. Brit.," 9th edition, Art. Jerusalem, xiii. p. 437. A comparison of previous measurements will be found in Barclay's "City of the Great King," p. 485.

⁴ Recovery of Jerusalem. Plan at p. 119.

⁵ Thus, for instance, Robinson, Williams, Schultz, Krafft, Sepp, De Vogue, De Saulcy, Menke, Caspari, Töbler, Warren, Furrer, Schick, all whose plans are grouped together by Zimmermann in the 4th sheet of his "Karten und Plane zur Topographie des Alten

while Ferguson,¹ Sandie,² Thrupp,¹ Lewin,¹ and Robertson Smith³ confine it strictly to the south-western angle. This latter view I accept unhesitatingly.

The Temple of Solomon was, we are told both in the Kings⁴ and the Chronicles,⁵ 60 cubits long and 20 broad, or 90 feet in length by 30 in breadth,⁶ and the porch in front 20 cubits (or 30 feet) in length, "according to the breadth of the house"⁷ and 10 cubits (or 15 feet) in breadth.⁸ These, with the fact that it was built on Mount Moriah, where the Lord appeared to David, "in the place that David had prepared in the threshing floor of Ornan, the Jebusite,"⁹ are literally all that we learn as to its precise location from the Sacred Writings. Josephus, in his "Antiquities," written some 900 years after, but with the Temple of Herod, which had superseded it and embraced the ground on which it stood, in his memory, writes that "the king laid the foundations of the temple very deep in the ground, and the materials were strong stone, and such as would resist the force of time: these were to unite themselves with the earth, and become a

Jerusalem," Basil, 1876; Lightfoot, Works, fol., London, 1684, i. 1049; Bartlett, "Walks about Jerusalem," 1843, p. 23; Unruh, "Das Alte Jerusalem," Lasgensalza, 1861, plans 1 and 8; Pierrotti, "Jerusalem Explored," London, 1864, ii. plate 3; Rosen, "Das Haran von Jerusalem, Terrain Karte," Gotha, 1866; Ewald, "History of Israel," 1871, iii. 233, note 1; Porter, "Murray's Handbook," 1875, p. 161; Socin, "Bædeker's Handbook," 1876, p. 142; Conder, "Handbook to the Bible Land," 1879, page 334; Henderson, "Palestine, its Historical Geography," 1884, page 146; Keil, "Biblical Archæology," 1887, ii. 23; Wolff, "Der Temple von Jerusalem," Gratz, 1887; Chaplin, "Pal. Exp. Fund," 1887, p. 131.

¹ See their plans in Zimmermann's work *ut supra*.

² "Horeb and Jerusalem," plans at p. 256.

³ "Encycl. Britannica," 9th edition, Art. Temple, vol. p.

⁴ 1 Kings vi. 2.

⁵ 2 Chron. iii. 3.

⁶ For a conclusive argument in favour of taking the cubit used in the measurements of the Temple as equivalent to 18 inches, see Fergusson—"Temples of the Jews," pp. 15-17. This has been confirmed by the recent discovery of the Siloam inscription, "which gives a round number of 1200 cubits for a measured length of 1760 feet" (Robertson Smith, "Ency. Brit.," Art. Temple).

⁷ 1 Kings vi. 3; 2 Chron. iii. 4.

⁸ 2 Kings vi. 3.

⁹ 2 Chron. iii. 1.

"basis and a sure foundation for that superstructure which was to be
 "erected over it; they were to be so strong, in order to sustain with
 "ease these vast superstructures and precious ornaments, whose own
 "weight was to be not less than the weight of those other high and
 "heavy buildings which the King designed to be very ornamental and
 "magnificent; they erected its entire body, quite up to the roof, of
 "white stone, its height was 60 cubits and its length was the same,
 "and its breadth 20. . . Its front was to the east. As to the
 "porch, they built it before the temple; its length was 20 cubits, and
 "it was so ordered that it might agree with the breadth of the house,
 "and it had 12 cubits in latitude. . . He also built round about
 "the temple 30 small rooms, which might include the whole temple by
 "their closeness one to another, and by their number and outward
 "position round it. He also made passages through them, that they
 "might come into one through another. Everyone of the rooms had
 "5 cubits in breadth, and the same in length.¹ . . Now when the
 "King had divided the temple into two parts, he made the inner
 "house of 20 cubits to be the most secret chamber, but he appointed
 "that of 40 cubits to be the sanctuary."² "He also made a brazen
 "altar, whose length was 20 cubits and its breadth the same and its
 "height 10, for the burnt offering,"³ and this altar he "set before
 "the temple, over against the door, that when the door was opened, it
 "might be exposed to sight, and the sacred solemnities and the richness
 "of the sacrifices might be thence seen."⁴ "He also placed a partition
 "round about the temple, . . and it was for the exclusion of the
 "multitude from coming into the temple, and showing that it was
 "a place that was free and open only for the priests. He also
 "built beyond this court a temple, whose figure was that of a quad-
 "rangle, and erected for it great and broad cloisters; this was entered
 "by very high gates, each of which had its front exposed to one of
 "the winds, and were shut by golden doors. Into this temple all
 "the people entered that were distinguished from the rest by being
 "pure, and observant of the laws. But he made that temple which
 "was beyond this a wonderful one indeed, and such as exceeds all

¹ Antiq. viii. 3, § 2, Whiston's translation. I omit all references
 to the height, the roofing, and the inner arrangements, as here we
 have to concern ourselves solely with the ground plan of the area
 comprised.

² Antiq. viii. 3, § 3, Whiston's translation.

³ Antiq. viii. 3, § 7, do.

⁴ Antiq. viii. 4, § 1, do.

"description in words; nay, if I may say so, is hardly believed upon sight: for when he had filled up great valleys with earth, which on account of their immense depth could not be looked on, when you bended down to see them, without pain, and had elevated the ground 400 cubits, he made it to be on a level with the top of the mountain on which the temple was built, and by this means the outward temple, which was exposed to the air, was even with the length itself. He encompassed this also with double rows of cloisters, which stood on high pillars of native stone. . . ."¹

This is all the description which Josephus gives of Solomon's Temple, but from succeeding portions of his writings we are able to glean the following further particulars:—

The hill on which it stood was "a rocky slope inclining gradually towards the eastern part of the city up to the top of the height."²

Originally the level space on the summit of the hill on which it stood "scarcely sufficed for the sanctuary and the altar, the ground about being abrupt and steep. But King Solomon, who built the sanctuary, having completely walled up the eastern side, a colonnade was placed on the embankment. On the other sides the sanctuary remained exposed. In process of time, as the people were constantly adding to the embankment, the hill became level and broader. They also threw down the northern wall, and enclosed as much ground as the circuit of the temple at large subsequently occupied."³

From a passage in Jeremiah it would seem that the inner court, or that of the priests, was on a higher level than the outer one.⁴

The above are the entire data on which we have to rely for a reconstruction of the ground plan of the Temple of Solomon.⁵

¹ Antiq. viii. 3, § 9—Whiston's translation. The first-mentioned court seems to be that called the Court of the Priests, and the second the great court mentioned in 2 Chron. iv. 9.

² Antiq. xv. 11, 3.—*λοφος ην πετρωδης, αναντης, ηρεμα προις τοις Εωις μερεσι της πολεις υπτιουμενος επι την κορυθην ακραν.* The description of the temple which follows seems to me to be clearly that of Herod's, not Solomon's temple.—See Fergusson, "Temples of the Jews," pp. 71-2.

³ Bell. Jud. v. 5, § 1.

⁴ Jeremiah xxxvi. 10, where it is spoken of as the "higher" [in the Rev. Version "upper"] court.

⁵ The passage in Ant. xx. 9, § 7, quoted on page , where Josephus states that the eastern cloisters, 400 cubits long, were the work of Solomon, is discussed on page .

They would appear to indicate a construction of the form and dimensions shown in the plan subjoined :—

[Here insert Plan.]

Besides the Temple, Solomon built the following :—(1) His palace, the dimensions of which are not given, but which as it occupied in construction thirteen years,¹ while the Temple only took seven,² must have been of great size and magnificence ; (2) the House of the Forest of Lebanon, 100 cubits in length and 50 cubits broad ;³ (3) a porch of pillars, 50 cubits in length and 30 in breadth ;⁴ (4) a porch for the throne ;⁵ (5) “another court” for his palace, “within the porch” apparently last mentioned ;⁶ (6) a house for Pharaoh’s daughter.⁷

The account of these in the Book of Kings is extremely vague and confused, but it would seem evident that, with the possible exception of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, they were all in contiguity to the great court of the Temple. It is difficult otherwise to understand verses 9 and 12 of the record—“All these were of costly stones, according to the measures of hewed stones, sawed with saws, within and without, even from the foundation unto the coping, *and so on the outside toward the great court. And the great court round about was with three rows of hewed stones and a row of cedar beams, both for the inner court of the house of the Lord, and for the porch of the house.*” This is confirmed by the declaration in Ezekiel⁸—“Son of man, the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and my holy name, shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they, nor their kings, by their whoredom, nor by the carcases of their kings in their high places. In their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them,⁹ they have even defiled my holy name by the abominations that they have committed.”

Of the *second* temple, that built by Zerubbabel, it is clear that it was on the site of the first ;¹⁰ but the only details we have as to its

¹ 1 Kings vii. 1.

² 1 Kings vi. 38.

³ 1 Kings vii. 2.

⁴ 1 Kings vii. 6.

⁵ 1 Kings vii. 7.

⁶ 1 Kings vii. 8.

⁷ 1 Kings vii. 8.

⁸ Ez. xliii. 7, 8, quoted by Fergusson, Temples, p. 40.

⁹ “In their setting of their threshold by my threshold, their door post beside my door post, and there was but the wall between me and them.”—Revised Version.

¹⁰ “Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacri-

dimensions are that it was ordered by Cyrus to be 60 cubits in height and 60 in breadth, "with three rows of great stones and a row of new timber."¹ From Josephus we gather² that it was much inferior to Solomon's temple; that it was connected by a bridge with the city;³ that it was most assailable from the north;⁴ but that even there there were great towers, and a ditch had been dug, and a deep valley girt it round about; that this ditch, which was partly filled up by Pompey during his siege, was of immense depth,⁵ and that it had an outer and inner court and cloisters.⁶ Hecataeus, quoted by Josephus,⁷ speaks of the enclosure as 500 feet in length and a hundred cubits (or 150 feet) in breadth, with double cloisters, having within it an altar of hewn stone 20 cubits square, and "a large edifice wherein there is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold." Aristæus tells us only that it was "surrounded by three walls 70 cubits high, and of proportional length and thickness, corresponding with the structure and uses of the building. It looked towards the east, and the whole pavement was laid with stone, and had tracts of water gushing at certain places for washing away the blood of the victims."⁸ Dion Cassius tells us only that it was built on a lofty site and fortified by its own walls.⁹

The block plan of this second temple and its courts would therefore show a space 500 feet in length by 150 in breadth, including a temple 45 feet broader than that of Solomon, and an altar of hewn stone of the same size as the brazen altar in front of the latter.

But as Herod confessedly proposed to complete this temple of Zerubbabel,¹⁰ by his own buildings, and in so doing "took away the old foundations and laid others, and erected the temple upon them,"¹¹ it is practically with this third temple—the Temple of Herod—that

ferences."—Ezra vi. 3. "We are the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and build the house that was builded these many years ago."

—Ezra v. 11, ff.; see also 1 Esdras vi. 13, ff.

¹ Ezra vi. 3, 4; 1 Esdras vi. 25; see Josephus, Ant. xi. 4, § 6.

² Ant. xi. 4, § 2; see also Ezra iii. 12; Haggai ii. 3.

³ Ant. xiv. 4, § 2; Wars i. 7, § 2.

⁴ Ant. xiv. 4, § 2; Wars i. 17, § 18.

⁵ Ant. xiv. 4, § 2; Wars i. 7, § 3.

⁶ Ant. xiv. 16, § 2.

⁷ Contra Apion, i. 22.

⁸ Havercarft's Josephus, tom. ii., app. p. 111-2.

⁹ xxxvii. 16.

¹⁰ Ant. xv. 11, § 1.

¹¹ Ant. xv. 11, § 3.

we have to do in this inquiry, as it may be taken that, wherever it stood, it embraced within its limits the area of the first and the second.

Two descriptions of Herod's Temple are given us by Josephus—the first in the fifteenth book of the “Antiquities,” the second in the fifth book of the “Wars of the Jews.” In the former he tells us that—

“Herod took away the old foundations and laid others, and erected the temple upon them, being in length 100 cubits and in height 20 additional cubits, which [20] upon the sinking of their foundations fell down; and this part it was which we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was 25 cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as was also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower; but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that approached to them. The temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. . . . He also encompassed the entire temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings, by divine revelation encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards, and round the top of it. He¹ also built a wall below beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley, and at the south side he laid rocks together and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice and its altitude were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened with iron and preserved the joints immovable for all future time. When this work was done in this manner, and joined

¹That is, Herod; see note, p. .

“together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. The hill was walled all round and in compass four furlongs, each angle containing in length a furlong;¹ but within this wall, and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having on the east quarter a double cloister, of the same length with the wall, in the midst of which was the temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the temple, and it had been adorned by many kings in former times, and round about the entire temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.²

“Now on the north side was built a citadel, whose walls were square and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high-priests before Herod, and they called it the Tower;³ in which were repositied the vestments of the high-priest, which the high-priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice . . . But for the tower itself when Herod the king of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend, and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.⁴

“Now, in the western quarter of the enclosure of the temple there were four gates; the first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley, two more led to the suburbs of the city, and the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent; for the city lay over-against the temple in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter: but the fourth front of the temple which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle,⁵ as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks, which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: and this cloister

¹ τετταρων σταδιων τον κυκλον εχων, εκαστης γωνιας σταδιον μηκος απολαμβανουσης. The length of a stadium is given in Liddell and Scott as “600 Greek, 606½ English feet.”

² Ant. xv. 11, § 3, Whiston's translation.

³ Βαριν.

⁴ Ant. xv. 11, 4, Whiston's translation.

⁵ Or “about its middle,” πυλας κατα μεσον.

“deserves to be mentioned rather than any other under the sun ; for
 “while the valley was very steep, and its bottom could not be seen,
 “if you looked from above into the depth, this farther vastly high
 “elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if
 “any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down
 “both these altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not
 “reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that
 “stood in four rows, one over-against the other all along, for the
 “fourth row was interwoven with the wall, which also was built of
 “stone, and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men
 “might with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their
 “hands again, while its length was 27 feet with a double spiral at
 “its basis ; and the number of all the pillars was 162. Their chapters
 “were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused
 “an amazement by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These
 “four rows of pillars included three rows of walks in the middle of
 “this cloister ; two of which walks were made parallel to each other,
 “and contrived after the same manner ; the breadth of each of them
 “was 30 feet, the length was a stadium, and the height 50 feet ; but
 “the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half
 “of the breadth of the other, and the height was double, for it
 “was much higher than those on each side ; but the roofs were adorned
 “with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures :
 “the middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the
 “front was adorned with beams resting upon pillars, that were
 “interwoven into it, and that front was all of polished stone, inso-
 “much that its firmness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible,
 “—and, to such as had seen it, was greatly amazing. This was the
 “first enclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was
 “the second, to be got up to by a few steps : this was encompassed
 “by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade
 “any foreigner to go in, under pain of death. Now this inner en-
 “closure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates dis-
 “tant from one another, but on the east quarter, towards the sun-
 “rising, there was one large gate through which such as were pure
 “came in, together with their wives ; but the temple further in-
 “ward was not allowed to the women. And still more inward was
 “there a third [court] whereunto it was not lawful for any but the
 “priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this ; and
 “before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our
 “sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God.” . . .¹

¹ Ant. xv. 11, § 5, Whiston's translation.

"There was also an occult passage built for the king ; it led from Antonia to the inner temple, at its eastern gate, over which he also erected for himself a tower, that he might have the opportunity of a subterraneous ascent to the temple, in order to guard against any sedition which might be made by the people against their kings." . . .¹

The "eastern cloisters belonged to the outer court, and were situated in a deep valley, and had walls that reached 400 cubits, and were built of square and very white stones, the length of each of which stones was 20 cubits, and their height six cubits. This was the work of King Solomon, who first of all built the entire temple."²

In the wars of the Jews Josephus thus refers to the Temple of Herod :—

"Herod at an incalculable expense, and in a style of unsurpassed magnificence, restored the temple, and breasted up with a wall the area around it, so as to enlarge it to twice its former extent. An evidence of its sumptuousness were the angle colonnades around the holy place, and the fort on its northern side. The colonnades he reared from the foundation ; the fort, in nothing inferior to a palace, he repaired at an immense cost, and called it Antonia in honour of Antony."³

"The temple, as I have said, was seated on a strong hill. Originally the level space on its summit scarcely sufficed for the sanctuary and the altar, the ground about being abrupt and steep. But King Solomon, who built the sanctuary, having completely walled up the eastern side, a colonnade was built upon the embankment. On the other side the sanctuary remained exposed. In process of time, however, as the people were constantly adding to the embankment, the hill became level and broader. They also threw down the northern wall, and enclosed as much ground as the circuit of the temple at large subsequently occupied. After having surrounded the hill from the base with a triple wall, and accomplished a work which surpassed all expectation—a work on which long ages were consumed, and all their sacred treasures exhausted, though replenished by the tributes offered to God from every region of the world—they built the upper boundary walls and the lower court of the temple.

"The lowest part of the latter they built up from a depth of 300

¹ Ant. xv. 11, § 7., Whiston's translation. ² Ant. xx. 9, § 7., do.

³ Wars, i. 21, § 1, Traill's translation.

"cubits, and in some places more. The entire depth of the foundations, however, was not discernible; for with a view to level the streets of the town, they filled up the ravines to a considerable extent. There were stones used in the building which measured 40 cubits, for so ample was the supply of money, and such the zeal of the people, that incredible success attended the undertaking; and that of which hope itself could not anticipate the accomplishment, was by time and perseverance completed.

"Nor was the substructure unworthy of such foundations. The colonnades, double throughout, were supported by pillars 25 cubits in height, each a single block of marble of the purest white. The ceilings were of panelled cedar. The natural magnificence of the latter, their exquisite polish, and the accurate fillings of the joists, presented a remarkable spectacle, though unaided by any extrinsic embellishments of painting or sculpture. The colonnades were 30 cubits broad, and their entire circuit, including the Antonia, measured six furlongs. The open space was paved throughout, and variegated with stones of every kind. As you advanced through this to the second court of the temple, you came to a stone balustrade, drawn all round, three cubits in height, and of exquisite workmanship. On this stood tables at regular intervals, setting forth the law of purification, some in Greek, others in Roman letters, that no foreigner was permitted to enter within the holy place, for so the second court of the temple was called. It was ascended from the first by 14 steps, was quadrangular at the top, and surrounded by a distinct wall. The exterior altitude of this, though not less than 40 cubits, was concealed by the steps; the inner was 25 cubits, for being constructed with steps against a rising ground, a portion only of the inner side was visible, the remainder being concealed by the hill.

"Beyond the 14 steps, the distance to the wall was 10 cubits, all level. Hence again, other flights of five steps led up to the gates, of which there were eight on the north and south sides, four to each, and two necessarily on the east; for a place of worship set apart for the women, having been portioned off, and that portion by a wall, a second gate became requisite. This was opened opposite to the first. There were also on the other side one southern and one northern gate, through which they could pass into the women's court, for women were not permitted to enter by the others, nor yet through their own, to pass beyond the

“ wall of separation. This enclosure was, however, free for purposes
 “ of worship, both to women of our own country, and to those of
 “ our people born in foreign lands, without distinction. The quarter
 “ towards the west had no gate, the wall on that side being built
 “ without a break. The cloisters that extended between the gates
 “ from the wall, and turned inward in front of the treasury
 “ chambers, were supported by large and extremely beautiful
 “ columns. These were single, and except in size, in no respect
 “ inferior to those of the lower court.

“ Of the gates nine were overlaid with gold and silver, as were
 “ their side ports and lintels, but one of them, that which was exterior
 “ to the sanctuary, was of Corinthian brass, and greatly exceeding in
 “ sumptuousness those plated with silver and gold. To each gateway
 “ were two doors, and each door was 30 cubits in height, and 15 in
 “ breadth. Within the entrances, however, the gateways expanded
 “ on either side, and contained chambers 30 cubits in breadth and
 “ the same in length, built in the form of towers, and exceeding 40
 “ cubits in altitude, each supported by 2 pillars, 12 cubits in circum-
 “ ference. Of all the other gates the dimensions were equal but that
 “ beyond the Corinthian, and which opened on the eastern side from
 “ the women's court, opposite the gate of the sanctuary, was much the
 “ larger, having an elevation of 50 cubits, with doors of 40, and with
 “ decorations more costly, being overlaid with massive plates of
 “ silver and gold. . . . 15 steps conducted from the women's partition
 “ to the larger gate, for they were shallower than those 5 steps
 “ which led to the other gates.

“ To the sanctuary itself, the holy temple, situated in the centre,
 “ the ascent was by 12 steps. In front its height and breadth were
 “ equal, a hundred cubits each. In rear it was 40 cubits narrower,
 “ for in front a kind of shoulder extended on either wall 20 cubits.
 “ Its first gate, which was 70 cubits high and 25 broad, had no
 “ doors. . . . The sanctuary within consisting of two stories,
 “ the first compartment alone lay exposed to view, rising without
 “ a break to an elevation of 90 cubits, its length being 50, and its
 “ breadth 20. The gateway through this was, as I have stated, com-
 “ pletely overlaid with gold, as was the whole wall around it. It had
 “ upon it, moreover, golden vines, from which hung down clusters of
 “ grapes, a man's stature in length.

“ The sanctuary being divided beyond this into stories, the in-
 “ side view was lower than the outside, and it had golden doors 55
 “ cubits high and 16 wide. Before these was spread a veil of equal

"length. . . ."¹ Advancing within, the lower story of the
 "sanctuary received you. This was 60 cubits in height and the
 "same in length, while its breadth was 20 cubits. These 60 cubits
 "of length were again divided. The first part, partitioned off at
 "40 cubits, contained within it three pieces of workmanship, most
 "admirable, and universally celebrated, a candlestick, a table, and
 "an altar of incense. . . . The innermost recess of the temple
 "measured 20 cubits, and was separated in like manner from the
 "other by a veil. In this nothing whatever was deposited. Un-
 "approachable, inviolate, to be seen of none, it was called the Holy
 "of the Holy. Around the sides of the lower part of the sanc-
 "tuary were many houses of three stories communicating with one
 "another. To these on either side were entrances from the ves-
 "tibule."²

"The exterior form of the edifice wanted nothing that could
 "strike either the mind or the eye. . . . Of the stones of which it
 "was composed, some were 45 cubits in length, 5 in depth, and
 "6 in breadth. In front of it stood the altar, 15 cubits high,
 "extending equally in length and breadth, 50 cubits each way. In
 "form it was quadrangular, with corners projecting like horns. It
 "was ascended on the south by a gently sloping acclivity. . . .
 "Surrounding both the sanctuary and the altar was a neat barrier
 "about a cubit high, of ornamental stone, which separated the people
 "outside from the priests."³ . . .

"The Antonia lay at the angle formed by two colonnades, the
 "western and the northern, of the front court of the temple. It
 "was built upon a rock 50 cubits high, and on every side pre-
 "cipitous. It was a work of King Herod, in which he particularly
 "exercised the natural greatness of his mind. In front the rock was
 "covered from the base upwards with smooth stone flags, as well
 "for ornament as that any one who attempted to ascend or descend
 "might slip off. Next and in front of the edifice itself there was a
 "wall of 3 cubits; and within this the entire space occupied by the
 "Antonia rose to an altitude of 40 cubits. The interior resembled a
 "palace in extent and arrangement, being distributed into apart-
 "ments of every description, and for every use, with cloistered

¹ Wars, v. 5, §§ 1-4, Traill's translation. I quote only what is
 required to enable a ground plan to be drawn up.

² Do., v. 5, § 5, do. ³ Do., v. 5, § 6, do.

"courts and baths, and spacious barracks for the accommodation of troops, so that its various conveniences gave it the semblance of a tower, its magnificence that of a palace.

"The general appearance of the whole was that of a town, with other towers at each of the four corners, three of which were 56 cubits high, while that at the south-east angle rose to an elevation of 70 cubits, so that from thence there was a complete view of the temple. Where it adjoined the colonnades of the temple, it had passages leading down to both, through which the guards—for in the fortress there always lay a Roman legion—descended and dispersed themselves about the colonnades, in order, at the festivals, to watch the people and repress any insurrectionary movement. For the temple lay as a fortress over the city, and the Antonia over the temple, the guards of all the three being stationed in the Antonia; while the upper tower had its own fortress—Herod's palace. The hill Bezetha was detached, as I have mentioned, from the Antonia. It was the highest of the three, and was joined on to part of the new town, forming southward the only obstruction to the view of the temple."¹

From the fact that Josephus reports John as fighting against the Romans from the Antonia, from the north colonnade of the temple, and in front of the monument of King Alexander,"² and from the subsequent review of the Roman troops being seen "from the northern quarter of the temple,"³ it seems clear that the Antonia did not stretch, as some would have it to do, along the whole of the north side.

The following passages must also be noted: "Thus the Jews, after the demolition of the Antonia, reduced their temple to a square, though they had it recorded in their oracles that 'the city and the sanctuary would be taken, when the temple should become square.'"⁴

The Jews were addressed by Titus, after the capture of the temple, "from the western side of the outer court of the temple; there being a gate in that quarter beyond the Xystus, and a bridge which connected the upper town with the temple."⁵

The second wall of the city reached to Antonia,⁶ which was separated from Bezetha "by a deep fence, purposely excavated to cut off the communication between the foundations of the Antonia

¹ Wars, v. 5, § 8, Traill's translation. ² Do., v. 7, § 3, do.

³ Do., v. 9, § 1, do. ⁴ Do., vi. 5, § 4. ⁵ Do., vi. 6, § 9, do.

⁶ Do., v. 4, § 2, do.

"and the hill, that they might be at once less easy of access and more elevated. Thus the depth of the trench materially increased the height of the towers."¹

If, from the above descriptions, we endeavour to construct a ground plan of the works of Herod in the Temple and the Antonia, we shall get, I believe, something like that subjoined:—

[Here insert Plan.]

The groundwork of this plan is the repeated declaration of Josephus that the temple area was a square of 400 cubits, or 600 feet. Thus "the hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs (or stadiums), each angle containing in length a furlong."² "The Jews, after the demolition of the Antonia, reduced their temple to a square";³ the length of the southern cloister is stated to have been a stadium,⁴ and the eastern cloister is described as 400 cubits in length.⁵ And in reality this is the main point with which in this inquiry we are concerned. And were it not that the great majority of topographers, throwing aside this reiterated testimony of the Jewish Historian, adopt, on the authority of the Talmud, a square of 500 cubits or 750 feet, I might here leave the question of the temple area, referring those who desire to work out the internal arrangements to the minute and exhaustive treatise of Mr. Fergusson, who, whatever varieties of opinion may be entertained as to his reproduction of separate details, has at least conclusively shown that with the single exception I think of the Talmudic dimensions of the Women's Court, the whole of these arrangements can be fitted with a quite remarkable exactitude into "a rectangular area measuring 585 feet east and west, by 610 north and south," sufficiently near in all reason to Josephus' square of 600 by 600, to meet every requirement.⁶

But what in a question of this kind is the authority of the Talmud as opposed to that of Josephus?

In the first place, Josephus was writing of what he had seen with his own eyes.

¹ Wars, v. 4, § 2, Traill's translation. ² Ant. xv. 11, § 3.

³ Wars, vi. 5, § 4. ⁴ Ant. xv. 11, § 5.

⁵ Ant. xx. 9, § 7. See Lewin, page 429.

⁶ Fergusson's *Temples of the Jews*, p. 77. The discussion of the internal arrangements takes up 68 pages of this remarkable book.

Born in Jerusalem A.D. 37, he inherited from his father the priestly office, and belonged to the first of the 24 courses.¹ From the age of fourteen he devoted himself to the study of the Jewish law, and ultimately attached himself to the sect of the Pharisees. At the age of twenty-six he visited Rome to plead the cause of some imprisoned Jewish priests, and on his return found his countrymen in the early stages of the revolt from the Roman authority. The conviction he had acquired from his residence in Rome of the extent of the imperial power led him to urge the leaders in Jerusalem to abandon their projects; but he was unsuccessful, and fearing, he states, that "by continually urging these considerations upon them I might incur their hatred and suspicion as one attached to the cause of their opponents, and thus run the risk of being seized by them and put to death; and as they had already possessed themselves of the Antonia—a fort so called—I retired into the inner court of the temple."² Ultimately, feigning acquiescence in their views, he was intrusted with the supreme command in Galilee, and there as a general displayed consummate ability, ultimately throwing himself into Jotapata, when, after a brilliant defence of 47 days, he was obliged to surrender to the Romans. His prophecy to Vespasian that he would be elevated to the purple appears to have secured to him lenient treatment, and, when after three years the prophecy became true, his chains were struck off by Titus, whom he accompanied to Jerusalem, and with whose army he was present during the whole of the great siege. Of his opportunities, therefore, of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the dimensions of the temple it is impossible to doubt, and as the main charge against the trustworthiness of his history is a constant tendency to exaggeration,³ and an inclination to conciliate his

¹ Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, voce Josephus—Vita Josephi, § 1.

² Vita, § 5.—Dr. Chaplin strangely enough urges that he "probably never had a very accurate knowledge of the Inner Temple."—Pal. Expl. Fund, 1887, p. 132.

³ "His archaeology abounds in distortions of historical facts, and in falsifications which arise from his inordinate national pride; and wherever he deals in numbers he shows his Oriental love of exaggeration."—Niebuhr, Lect. Rom. His. l. c.

heathen readers, he is little likely to have erred in understating the dimensions of the marvellous fortress-fane which was captured by them.¹

The Talmud, on the other hand, in its present form, cannot be reckoned as dating at the earliest from the latter part of the fourth century. The oral teachings, of which the Mischna or text is the written expression, were not collected and sifted until the time of Rabbi Jehuda (A.D. 219), nor were they then committed to writing.² They rested solely in the memories of the students, and to write them down was even considered a religious offence. It was not until the latter part of the fourth century that the Jerusalem Talmud, comprising the Mischna and a special Gemara (or comment thereon) was committed to writing, nor till the fifth century that the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud, comprising the same Mischna but a Gemara of its own, was begun, or the sixth century that it was completed.³ Three hundred years at least therefore separate the Mischna as a written authority from the works of the Jewish historian.

I have given in Appendix D. a translation in full of the "Middoth," or treatise of the Mischna, which deals with the measurements of the temple.⁴ In chapter 2, § 1, it is stated, "The

¹ See Lewin.—Probable Site of the Temple at Jerusalem. *Archæologia*, vol. 44, page 20.

² E. Deutsch, *Literary Remains*, p. 62.

³ D. S. Davidson in *Kitto's Cycl. of Biblical Literature*, 3rd edit. voce Talmud iii. 939.

⁴ It forms the tenth treatise in the Jerusalem, and the eleventh in the Babylonian Talmud, of the fifth order or book of the Mischna, and consists in both of five chapters. In the Jerusalem Talmud it has a Gemara or commentary, but not in the Babylonian. My translation was originally made from the Latin version of Surenhusius (Amsterdam, 1698-1703, pt. 5, p. 323), then the only translation existing. Since then two English versions have appeared—one by Joseph Barclay, LL.D., "The Talmud" (Lond., 1878, p. 255), the other by Dr. Chaplin in the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1886, p. 224; 1887, pp. 10, 116. The Jerusalem Gemara has never been translated into English, and Schwab's French translation of the Jerusalem Talmud, which includes the Gemara, has only up to now (1888) reached the fourth treatise of the fourth book. I have carefully compared my version with these later ones and noted any points of interest.

mount of the temple was quadrangular, so that each of the sides was 500 cubits. The greatest space was on the south ; next to that on the east ; third on the north, but least on the west” ; and in the same chapter, § 5, occurs the following passage : “ The length of the court of the women was 135 cubits, with a breadth of 135, and there were four chambers in its four angles, and each of 40 cubits, which were not roofed, and so indeed will they be in time to come, because it is said (Ezekiel xlvi. 21, 22), ‘ And he led me to the outer court, and made me pass to the four corners of the court, and behold a court was in the corner of the court, and in the four corners of the court were courts made like furnaces.’ ”

These two passages, it may fairly be alleged, are the only two in which, for our purpose at least, the Talmud clashes with Josephus. As already stated, all the internal arrangements of the temple given in the Talmud except the dimensions of the woman's court are consistent with the external limits of 400 cubits given by the latter, and in fact become almost unworkable if applied to a larger area. Certainly without the external dimensions assigned by the Talmud to the court of the women they would be entirely unworkable. In the sketch plan given upon page I have where Josephus is silent adopted the measures of the Talmud,—except in two cases, first, the external limits of the whole area ; and second, the breadth (*i.e.*, from east to west) of this woman's court. I have taken the length of it (from north to south) as in the Talmud at 135 cubits (202½ feet). But it will be evident that to take the breadth as the same would involve of necessity such an extension of the whole temple area as would compel the estimate of Josephus to be abandoned for that of the Rabbis. The width of the porticos, the length of the sanctuary, and the breadth of the Talmudic women's court, would together leave no space for the courts of the priests and of the men of Israel within an area 400 cubits square. If then the woman's court were 135 cubits square, the area of the temple had to be made something like 750 feet square, while on the other hand if the area of the temple were 750 feet square some one or other of the courts had to be exceptionally enlarged in area to use up the surplus space. On the face of it, that the choice should have fallen on the woman's court seems a little strange, inasmuch as the result was to give to the women a totally disproportionate area to that given to the court of the men of Israel.¹

¹ See for instance the plan of the temple according to the Talmud

The reason of the original blunder of the Talmudists seems not far to seek. It appears to have been founded on a misreading of the prophetic sketch of the temple given in the fortieth to the forty-third chapters of Ezekiel. Throughout these chapters, difficult as it is in some respects to understand their minute details,¹ there is nothing to clash either with the dimensions given by Josephus or with the details of the inner arrangements given in the Middoth till we come to the 15th verse of chapter xlii. : "Now when he had made an end of measuring the inner house, he brought us forth toward the gate whose prospect is toward the east, and measured it round about. He measured the east side with the measuring reed,² 500 reeds, with the measuring reed round about. He measured the north side, 500 reeds, with the measuring reed round about. He measured the south side with the measuring reed 500 reeds with the measuring reed. He turned about to the west side, and measured 500 reeds with the measuring reed. He measured it by the four sides ; it had a wall round about, 500 reeds long and 500 broad, to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place." Now, it is clear upon the face of it that these verses can have no reference to the dimensions of the temple itself, otherwise we must enlarge these to an area of 3,000 cubits, or 4,500 feet square. They must refer to some other area altogether, and this area would appear to be in reality the sacred enclosure in which the temple and its courts were in the prophetic vision to stand, and which is the first of the prophetic divisions of the Land of Israel referred to in chapter xlv. 2, where, speaking of the portion to be offered as an oblation to the Lord, the length of which was to be 35,000 reeds and the breadth 10,000, the prophet

by Dr. Barclay, p. 380, of his work on the Talmud above referred to—and that of Lightfoot prefixed to his "Prospect of the Temple." I. 1049. According to the Middoth the court of the men of Israel was only 11 cubits wide by 135 in length, or rather less than one twelfth that of the women.—Mr. Ferguson, *Contemporary Review* for May 1876, p. 989.

¹ See them discussed by Mr. Ferguson in his paper above referred to in the *Contemporary Review*, and in chapter viii. of his "Temples of the Jews."

² The measuring reed is in chap. xl. 5 defined as being "6 cubits long by the cubit and an handbreadth," which was equal to a cubit of 18 inches.—See Speaker's Commentary in loco.

writes :—"Of this there shall be for the sanctuary 500 in length with 500 in breadth square round about, and 50 cubits round about for the suburbs thereof. And of this measure shalt thou measure the length of 25,000 and the breadth 10,000, and in it shall be the sanctuary and the most holy place. The holy portion of the land shall be for the priests, the ministers of the sanctuary, which shall come near to minister unto the Lord, and it shall be a place for their houses, and an holy place for the sanctuary."

In the Septuagint, however, the verses I have quoted from the 42nd chapter assume a totally different aspect. For "reeds" we have "cubits," and they run thus—"And he stood behind the gate looking eastward, and measured 500 [cubits] with the measuring reed. And he turned to the north, and measured in front of the north [side] 500 cubits¹ with the measuring reed. And he turned to the west, and measured 500 [cubits] with the measuring reed. And he turned to the south, and measured in front of the south side 500 [cubits] by the measuring reed." "[The four sides he measured] by the same reed, and he marked out the house and the circumference of the parts round about, [a space] of 500 [cubits] eastward, and a breadth of 500 cubits,¹ to make a division between the sanctuary and the outer wall that [belonged to] the design of the house." Now it does appear a not unnatural conjecture that the error of the Talmudists arose from their adopting the Septuagint version of these verses, and feeling bound accordingly to make the area of the temple and its courts, in conformity as they believed it with Ezekiel, 500 cubits each way. To the words of the prophetic vision they expressly refer in their description of the woman's court,² and from this and other references of a similar kind³ clearly had it before them throughout. Accepting then their misunderstanding of the area described at the end of chapter xlii., they would find after using up the whole inner area that they had a large surplus of 100 cubits to spare, and "not knowing what better to do with them put them into the court of the women."⁴ But this last measurement of 500 reeds had in reality, as

¹ It may be noted that these are the only two instances in these verses where the word "cubits" (πηχους and πηχων) actually occur in the original Greek.

² Middoth ii., 5.

³ Do. iii., 1 ; iv., 1, 2.

⁴ Ferguson's Temples of the Jews, p. 64.

has been well said, "no more to do with the dimensions of the temple, properly so called, than those of the walls of the city of London have to do with the dimensions of St. Paul's Cathedral."¹

I hold then by the area of Josephus, that is, by a square of about 600 feet, and now have to endeavour to ascertain in what part of the Haram area we must locate that square.

And for the following reasons I have no hesitation in fixing on the south-western angle.

1. An examination of the ordnance survey² discloses the following facts:—The south-western angle is the only right angle in the whole of the Haram area,³ and as nearly as possible at 600 feet from the southern wall, and parallel with it, runs the stone barrier which now forms the southern boundary of the raised platform on which stands the dome of the rock,⁴ "rising now as it always did 20 or 21 feet above the lower platform."⁵ Moreover, this barrier terminates towards the east 585 feet from the western wall, the point at which a line drawn at right angles to the southern wall and starting at a point about the same distance from the south-western angle would necessarily terminate.⁶ Now, if we measure 585 feet eastwards along the southern wall, it takes us to the western side of the triple gate, from which starts northwards a wall forming the western side of the passage leading from that gate, and which is still traceable for about 290 feet.⁷ We have thus on all four sides indications at least of a square

¹ Ferguson's *Temples of the Jews*, p. 65.

² By Wilson and James, 1865.

³ "In all the temples of Palmyra, Baalbec, Athens, etc., of about this age the temenoi or enclosures are without an exception exactly rectangular." Ferguson's *Topography*, p. 6.

⁴ Lewin, p. 471. ⁵ Ferguson, *Temples*, p. 74. ⁶ Lewin, *ut supra*.

⁷ See notice of this passage, with elevation of the wall, in sheet 25 of the "Plans, etc., of Excavations at Jerusalem," published by the Pal. Expl. Fund. In the text of the Jerusalem volume, p. 164, it is stated that "there is nothing whatever in this wall that can give it the slightest pretension to be considered as the east wall of the temple enclosure of Herod," which may be true enough of the facing as it now exists, but does not militate against the argument that it marks the spot where that east wall formerly stood; and numerous portions of the original rock which it seems to have lined are shown in the drawing itself.—See Barclay, 506.

at the south east of the Haram to all intents and purposes corresponding with the area of Josephus, and, except where pierced by the passage leading northwards from the Huldah or Double Gate, and perforated by a series of water tanks, which as we know from Tacitus¹ and Aristæus² lay beneath the temple, this area appears to consist of solid rock.³

2. The southern wall of the temple had, writes Josephus, "gates about its middle."⁴ Not, as Lewin⁵ points out, one gate, "but gates (*πύλας*), i.e., a double doorway," and in the Middoth⁶ these are called the Chulda or Huldah gates, and are said to have been for the use of those entering from and leaving by the south. If we assume 585 feet as the length of the southern wall we find the present double gateway quite sufficiently near the centre to justify the phrase "about the middle."⁷ It is 330 feet from the south-western angle, and 220 feet from the western side of the triple gateway. There are few points in the Topography of the city so little disputed as the antiquity of the passage running northwards from this gateway. Even in the Jerusalem volume of the Palestine Fund (p. 166) it is described as "probably one of the Huldah gates mentioned in the Talmud," and is styled by Mr. Ferguson "the only remaining fragment of Herod's temple still existing." Why this gateway was not exactly in the

¹ Hist., v. 12.—"The temple resembled a citadel. It contained an inexhaustible spring; there were subterranean excavations in the hills, and tanks and cisterns for holding rain water."

² See Havercamp's Josephus. II., app. pp. 111-2.—"The water never ran short, because a powerful spring within had a natural and perennial flow, and there were underground receptacles constructed with wonderful and indescribable art for 5 stadia, with a great variety of pipes through which the water flowed from one to the other."

³ This accords with the description of Josephus, Ant. xv. 11, § 3. See above pp. See Lewin, pp. 458-471.

⁴ Ant. xv. 11, § 5. ⁵ p. 475. ⁶ I. § 3. ⁷ *κατὰ μέσον*.

⁷ Temples, p. 81, where, and in Plate vi. of De Vogue's 'Temple,' will be found drawings of the ornamentation of the domes in the vestibule. Views of the passage itself will be found in De Vogue, plate iv., and Traill's Josephus I., 96, and app. 17 and 40; II., p. 122, and app. 103, and plans at De Vogue, plate ii., and Traill's Josephus I., app. 24, and on Sheet 39 of the Plans of the Palestine Exploration

centre of the southern wall is well explained by Lewin.¹ "The passage led up to one of the gates of the inner temple, which on the south had four gates. The architect had to choose of the two middle ones either "the eastern or the western, and he naturally chose the eastern, as nearest to the most frequented part of the temple." Further, if this eastern gate of the inner enclosure be identified with the "water gate," which, according to Lightfoot,² "opened directly upon the altar, an additional reason for the Huldah gate being situated where it was is supplied, and an examination of Mr. Ferguson's restoration of the temple³ discloses how the whole arrangement works out to a mathematical exactness, with the additional curious confirmation that by constructing a line drawn at right angles to the southern wall along the line of the arches that divide the passage leading north from the double gateway it will cut not only the centre of the altar but if prolonged "cuts the centre of a flight of steps leading to the upper platform (now existing), but not symmetrically with the Dome of the Rock which stands there, and which may consequently mark the junction of the northern gate called Teri or Tadi in the Talmud."⁴

[Here insert plan.]

3. On the west there were, according to Josephus, four gates to the outer enclosure. "The first led to the king's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the city; and the last led to the other city where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent."⁵ ~~One of these gateways led to a bridge over this valley, as after the capture of the temple Titus is described as addressing the Jews "from the western side of the outer court of the temple, there being a gate in that quarter beyond the Xystus, and a bridge which connected the upper town with the temple."~~⁶

Fund. For views of the outer facade, which is comparatively modern, see De Vogue, plate v. Traill's Josephus I., app. 16-22. Ord. Survey Photog., plate xiii.

¹ p. 475. ² I. 2011. ³ Ferguson, Temples, plate II.

⁴ Ferguson, Temples, p. 78. ⁵ Ant. xv. 11, § 5.

~~⁶ Wars vi. 6, § 9. See also Wars ii. 16, § 2, and vi. 6, § 1.~~

T. 102

TEXT AND LITERAL TRANSLATION
OF LATIN MS. (PROBABLY OF 7TH CENTURY) IN BIBLIOTHEQUE
IMPERIALE, PARIS.

DESCRIBED IN CATALOGUE—PARS TERTIA, TOM. 4. PAGE 2. No. IV. 1708.

[SEE MICHAUD, HISTOIRE DES CRUSADES, Vol. I., p. 420, Note 1.]

THE NARRATIVE OF A CERTAIN WRITER REGARDING JERUSALEM, FRAMED IN SIMPLE LANGUAGE.

The City of Jerusalem having six larger gates, besides a postern. The exit from it to the Jordan is by the gate of Benjamin. It is distant from Jericho 18 miles. Thence to the Jordan 7 miles. From Jericho to Galgala one mile. There is the field of the Lord where the Lord Jesus Christ ploughed one furrow with his own hand. There are the 12 stones which the children of Israel raised out of Jordan. From Jericho to the Mount of Helyseus 2 miles. There was the house of Raab the harlot, who received the spies. Also from Jerusalem to Bethsaida 12 miles. In which Bethsaida Jacob saw in his dreams angels ascending and descending from heaven. From Bethsaida to Samaria, which is now called Neapolis, 28 miles. There is the well which Jacob built. There are the bones of St. Joseph.

From Samaria to Sabastea 7 miles. There the Lord John was beheaded. From Sabastea to Ernopolis 30 miles. There the Lord Basileus was martyred. From Scytopolis to Tyberias 24 miles. There the Lord Jesus Christ walked on his feet. From Tyberias to Magdale where Lady Mary was born, 2 miles. From Magdale to the seven fountains where the Lord Jesus Christ baptized the Apostles, 2 miles, where also he fed the people with five loaves and two fishes.

From the seven fountains to Capharnaum 2 miles. From Capharnaum to Bethsaida 6 miles, where are the holy Apostles Peter, Andrew, Philip, and the sons of Zebadaeus. From Bethsaida to Panias, 50 miles. Thence issues the Jordan from two sources, Jor and Dan. These place [Panias] in the middle, and unite below the City. At this spot and henceforward it receives the name of Jordan. Thence came the woman whom the Lord Jesus Christ freed from an issue of blood. The name of the woman was Mariosa. There is an amber statute of the Lord in the Church, which Mariosa herself made. There Mount Libanus has its head. From the gate of the Castle to where David fought with Golia on Mount Buzan which is interpreted lamp. From Buzan to Eleiotoporis fifteen miles. From Eleiotoporis to the place where lies St. Zacharias six miles, and from the same place to Ascalon twenty miles. From Ascalon to Gaza twelve miles. Between Ascalon and Gaza are two cities, viz.—Antionoda and Mazoma. From Gaza to Rafia twenty-four miles.

From Rafia to Betulia, where Olofernis died, twelve miles. From Jerusalem to Sidon, where was the ark of the testament of the Lord, nine miles. From Sidon to Emmaus, which is now called Nicopolis, nine miles. In which Emmaus St. Cleppas knew the Lord in the breaking of bread. There also he suffered martyrdom.

DE HIEROSOLIMA RELATIO CUJUSDAM SIMPLICI SERMONE COMPOSITA.

Ciuitas Hierlm habens portus maiores sex. absq: posticia. Id. ē portu beniamin. exiens adiordanē. Habens ab hiericho milia xviii. Indeadordanem mil. vii. Dehiericho usq: galgala miliario uno. Ibi. ē. ager dni. ubi dns ihs xps unum sulcum demansua arauit. Ibi s. duodecim lapides quos leuauer. filij isrl. deiordane. De hiericho usq: admonte helysaei mil. ii. Ibi erat domus. raab publicane. que excepit exploratores. Item dehierlm usq: in bethsaida. mil. xii. Inqua bethsaida uidit Jacob: in somnis angelos ascendentes & descendentes de coelo. Debethsaida usq: in Samaria. quae dicitur modo neapolis. mil. xxviii. Ibi. ē. puteus quam fabricauit Jacob: Ibi sunt ossa sci Joseph:

Desamaria usq: in sabastea mil. vii. Ibi domnus iohann. decollatus ē. Desabastea usq: inernopolim. mil. xxx. Ibi domnus basileus martyrizatus ē. Descitopoli usq: ad tyberiada. mil. xxiii. Ibi dns ihsxps pedib: ambulauit. Detyberiada usq: magdale. ubi domna maria nata ē, mil. ii. Demagdale usq: adseptem fontes ubi dnsihsxps baptizauit apostolos. mil. ii. ubi saturauit populu de quinq panib. et duob piscib.

Deseptem fontib. usq: in capharnau. mil. ii. De capharnaum usq: bethsaida. mil. vi. ubi sunt sci aplj petrus. andreas. philippus. et filii Zebadaei. Debethsaida. usq: inpaniada. mil. L. Inde exit iordanis de duob. locs. ior. etdan. Ipsa paniada. Inmedio mittent et subtus ciuitate coniungunt. Adapar & al inde accepit nom. iordanis. Inde fuit mulier quam dnsihsxps. liberauit defluxu sanguinis. nomen ipsius mulieris mariosa. Ibi. ē. statua dni electrina ineccla quam ipsa mariosa fecit. Ibi habet capud mons libanus. Deportu burgius usq: ubi pugnauit dauid cum golia. inmonte buzana quod intptatur lucerna. Debuzana usq: eleiotopori mil. xv. De elio. mil. xv. pori usq: inloco ubi jac& scā Zaccharias. mil. vi. et deipsoloco usq: adascalonam mil. xx. Deascalona usq: adgaza. mil. xii. Int. ascalonam & gazam. ciuitates duas. Id. ē. antionoda et mazoma. De gaza usq: ad rafia. mil. xxiii.

Derafia usq: ad betulia ubi olofernus mortuus ē. mil. xii. De hierlm. usq: in sidona ubi fuit arca testamti. dni. mil. viiii. Desidono usq: emmaus quinunc nicopolis dicitur mil. viiii. Inqua Emmau scs eleppas cognouit dnm in confractione panis. Ibi et martyrium ptulit. Deemmau. usq: indiopolim mil. vii. ubi. scs

From Emmaus to Diopolis seven miles. There St. George was martyred. There also is his body, and many miracles are worked. From Diospolis to Joppe twelve miles. Where St. Peter raised St. Tabitha from the dead. There also the whale threw out St. Jona. From Joppe to Cesarea Palestina thirty miles. There Lord Cornelius was baptised by Lord Peter, and was martyred. From Cesarea to Diocesarea thirty miles. Thence came Simon Magus. From Diocesarea to Chana of Galilee five miles. From Diocesarea to Nazareth five miles. From Nazareth to Sycetaburis two miles. There the Lord, after his resurrection, appeared to the Apostles. From Jerusalem to where Lord Philip baptised the Eunuch sixteen miles. Thence to the terebynth tree, which is called the oak of Mambre, two miles. From the terebynth tree to the double cave, where the patriarchs rest, four miles. From the double cave to Cebron two miles. Where St. David abode seven years, when he fled before Saul. From Jerusalem to Rahama, where Samuhel rests, five miles. From Jerusalem to where St. Helysabeth, the mother of Lord John the Baptist dwelt, five miles. From Jerusalem to Anatoth, where Lord Heremias the prophet was born, and where he rests, six miles. From Jerusalem to Bethany two miles, where the Lord Jesus Christ raised Lazarus from the dead. From Jerusalem to Mount Olivet, as it is called, seven stadia, one mile. Thence the Lord ascended into heaven. There are built churches in number 24.

From Mount Olivet to the village of Hermippus, where Abimelech slept under a fig tree forty-six years, one mile. Which Abimelech was a disciple of St. Jeremias. There was Baruch the prophet, in the city of Jerusalem, at the sepulchre of the Lord. There is the place of Calvary. There Abraham offered his son as a victim, and because the mount is stony, on the mount itself, that is, at the foot of that mount, Abraham made an altar. Over the altar the mount impends, to which mount the ascent is by steps. There the Lord was crucified. From the sepulchre of the Lord to the place of Calvary are fifteen paces. It is under one roof. From the place of Calvary to Golgotha fifteen paces, where the cross of the Lord was found. From Golgotha to St. Syon two hundred paces, which is the mother of all churches, which Syon the Lord Christ, with the Apostles, founded. It was the house of St. Mark the Evangelist. From St. Syon to the house of Caiaphas, which is now the church of St. Peter, there are more or less fifty steps. From the house of Caiaphas to the Pretorium of Pilate more or less one hundred steps. There is the church of Sophia. Near it St. Jeremias was thrown into a lake. The column which was in the house of Caiaphas, at which the Lord Christ was flogged, is now in St. Syon. by the command of the Lord. The column itself followed, and by the manner in which He was scourged He embraced it, so, as in wax, his hands, [and] even fingers, adhered to it; and to-day it appears (so), also his whole face, chin, nose, and

georgius martyrizatus ē. Ibi et corpus eis ē. et multa mirabilia fiunt. De diospoli inioppen. mil. xii. Ubi scs petrus resuscitauit scā tabita. Ibi & coetus iactauit. seuicta iona. Deioppe ad cesareā. palestinā. m. xxx. Ibi baptizatus ē. dns cornelius a domno petro & martyrizatus ē. Decesarea usq: indiocesarea mil. xxx. Inde fuit symon magus. De diocesarea usq: inchanagalileae mil. v. Dediocesarea usq: innazareth mil. v. De Nazareth usq: insycetaburi. mil. ii. Ibi dns post resurrectione apostolis apparuit. Dehierlm usq: ubi baptizauit dominus philippus eunuchum mil. xvi. Inde usq: therebinthum quod appellatur eileicemmambre mil. ii. Detherebinto usq: adspelunca duplicem ubirequ iescunt patriarchae mil. iiii. Despelunca duplicem usq: incebron mil. ii. Ubi habitauit scs dauid. septem annis. quando fugiebat ante Saul. De hierlm. inrahama ubirequiescit Samuhel. mil. v. De hierlm usq: habitauit scā helysab&th mater domni iohannis baptistae mil. v. De hierlm usq: anatoth ubi natus ē. dominus Hieremias propheta. ubi et requiescit. m. vi. De hierlm usq: bethania mil. ii. ubi resuscitauit dñs ihs xps lazarum. De hierlm usq: in monte oliueti quod scribitur stadia septem miliario uno. Inde dñs in coelis ascendit. Ibi sunt fabricatas numero xxiii. ecclesias.

De monte oliueti usq: in uico hermippo. ubi dormiuit abimelech sub arbore ficus annis xli. miliario uno. Qui abimelech. discipulus fuit scī Hieremiae. Ibi fuit Baruch propheta inciuitate hierlm. ad sepulchrum dñi. Ibi. ē. caluarie loci os Ibi abraham. obtulit filium suū holocaustum. et quia mons petreus. ē. In ipso monte. hoc ē. ad pedem montis ipsius. fecit abraham altarium. super altarium eminet mons. ad quem montem per gradus collocatur. Ibi dñs crucifixus. ē. Desepulchro dñi usq: ad caluarie locum sunt passus num. xv. sub unotecto. ē. De caluarie locum usq: in golgotha passus n. xv. Ubi crux dñi. inuenta. ē. De golgotha usq: in scā syon. pass. num. cc. quae ē. mater. omnium ecclesiarum quam syon. dñs. nr. xps. cuam. in ipso fundauit. Ipsa fuit domus scī marci. euangelistae. De scā syon addomum caiphe. qui. ē. modo ecclesia. scī petri. sunt plus minus pass. n. L. De domo caiphe ad portum. pilati. plus minus pass. n. c. Ibi. ē. ecclesia. sophiae. iuxta se. missus. ē. scs hieremias in lacum. Columna quae fuit in domo Caiphae. ad quam dñs xps flagellatus. ē. modo in scā syon iussu dñi. Ipsa columna secuta ē. et quomodo eam dum flagellaretur amplexant sicut incera. sic brachia eis. manus uel digiti in eam haeserunt et hodie parat. sedet fax omnis mentis. nasus. uel oculi. sicut in cera designauit Scs stephanus foras porta

even eyes, are marked as in wax. St. Stephen was stoned outside the Galilean gate. There also is his church, which Lady Theodosia, the wife of Theodosius the Emperor, built. The fish pool of Siloe is one hundred paces from the lake into which Jeremias the prophet was thrown, which fish-pool is within the wall. From the house of Pilate to the Piscina Probatica more or less one hundred paces. There the Lord Christ cured the paralytic, whose couch is still there. There near the Piscina Probatica is the church of Lady Mary. St. James, whom the Lord with his own hand ordained a bishop, who, after the ascension of the Lord, was thrown down from a pinnacle of the temple, and took no hurt, but a fullar killed him, with the pole on which he had been accustomed to carry away his things, and he was buried on Mount Olivet. The same St. James and St. Zacharias and St. Simeon were buried in one tomb which St. James himself built. He himself buried their bodies there, and commanded that he should be laid there with them. There is the valley of Josaphat. There Judas betrayed the Lord. There is the church of Lady Mary, the mother of the Lord. There also the Lord washed the feet of the apostles. There also he supped. There are four couches,—there the Lord reclined with his apostles, he himself in their midst,—which couches hold three men each. There now, when some persons for religion's sake resort, they rejoice to eat their food, except flesh, and light their lamps where the Lord himself washed the feet of the apostles, because the place itself is in a cave, and 200 now go down there.

At the bottom, from the pinnacle of the temple, is a nunnery, peculiar for the chaste lives of its inhabitants; and when any one of them passes from the world, she is there laid up within, in the nunnery. From the time when they enter there, as long as they live, they go not out thence. When any one, from sanctity of her own accord wishes to be received there, or any penitent person, to such only do they open the gates. For they are always shut, and provisions are handed down to those within by the walls, for they have water there in cisterns. The city of Cerson, which is at the sea side. Here Lord Clement suffered martyrdom. His monument was thrown into the sea along with his body. To which Lord Clement an anchor was bound to his neck, and now on his birthday all the people and priests go on board a boat, and till they go there the sea dries up for six miles, and there is the chest itself. Tents are stretched over it, and an altar is placed there, and for eight days masses are celebrated there, and the Lord Clement works many miracles there. There demoniacs are excluded; but if any one of these same demoniacs can reach to the anchor itself, and touch it, immediately he is freed. From Cerson to Sinope, where Lord Andrew freed Lord Mathew, the Evangelist, from prison, which Sinope at that time was called Myrmidon, and all the men who lived there eat each other. For even now, such is the pitiful state there, that they watch strangers for the purpose of

galileae lapidatus. e. Ibi. et ecclesia eis. e. quae fabricauit domna theodosia. uxor theodosii. Imperatoris. Piscina siloe. alacū. ubi missus. e. Hieremias Ppheta hab. pass. n. c. quae piscina intra murum e. Dedomo pilati. usq: ad piscinam Pbatica pass. plusminus num c. Ibi dns xps paralyticum curavit cuius lectus adhuc ibi. e. Juxta piscinam Pbatica. ibi. e. ecclesia dnāe mariae Scs Jacob: quem dns manusua apm ordinauit. q. post ascensum dni depinna templi. pcipitatus e. et nihil ei nocuit. sed follo eum deuicta in quo resportare consueuerat occidit et positus. e. In monte oliueti. Ipse scs. iacob: & scs. Zacharias et scs. Simeon. In una memoria positusunt. quā memoria ipse scs. iacob: fabricauit. corporailloy ipse ibi recondidit & se ibi cumeis pcepit poni. Ibi. e. uallis io saphath. Ibi dnm iudas tradidit. Ibi. e. ecclesia domnāe mariae matris dni. Ibi et dns lauit pedes apolorum. Ibi et coenauit. Ibi sunt quattuor accubita. ibi dns cum aptis ipse medios accubuit. Qua accubita ternos homines recipiunt. modo aliquant Pregiositate. Ibi cum uenerint excepto carnis. ibi cybariasua comedere delectantur et accendent luminaria. ubi ipse dns aptis pedis lauit. quia ipse locus inspelunca. e. et descendit ibi modo. cc. monachi.

Apinna templi subitus monasteriu e. decasta et quando aliqua earum de sclo. transierit Ibi intus in monasterio reponitur. et aquo illuc intrauerint usq: dum uiuunt indenon exeunt quado aliqua de sancti monialib: illuc conuertiuoluerit. aut aliqua paenitens. huiusmodi ipsas portas aperiantur. Nam semper clausae sunt et uictualia eis pmuros deponunt. nam aqua ibi incisternas habent. Ciuitas persona quae e. ad maris pontu. Ibi dominus clemens. martyrizatus ē. In mari memoriā eis. cum corpus missus. ē. cui domno clemti. anchora. ad collum ligata. ē. et modo. innatale eis. omnes in barca ascendunt. populus. et sacerdotes et dum ibi uenerint mares desiccat mil. vi. et ibi ipsa arcta ē tenduntur supse papillones. et ponitur altaris. et pocto dies ibi missae cælebrantur. et multa mirabilia ibi dns facit. Ibi dæmonia excludunt. Si q. uero de ipsis ad ipsam anchorā adtingere potuerit & eam tetigerit. statim liberatur. Decersona usq: in sinope. ubi dominus andreas liberauit domnu matheu euangelistam decarcere. quae sinope illotemp. myrmidona dicebatur. et omnes qui ibi manebant homines. pares suos. comedebant. Nam modo tanta misericordia ibi ē. ut ad stratas sedeant peregrinos suscipiendos. Inde iam armoenia.

taking and strangling them. Directly from that point (stretches) Armœnia. In Egypt is the city of Memphis, where Pharoah lived, where also Joseph was put in prison. There are two monasteries—one is of the religion of the Vandals, and the other of the Romans. The one of the Vandals is (the monastery) of St. Heremias, (that) of the Romans of St. Apollonius, the hermit. Cæsarea Cappadocia. There is St. Mammes, the hermit and martyr, who milked the wild beasts and made cheese, and St. Mercury the martyr. In the same province is the city of Sebastea, where are forty martyrs, (it) is in the province of Cappadocea. The City of Gangra. There is St. Gallenicus the martyr, (it) is in the province of Galatia. The city of Eucatta, where is St. Theodorus the martyr, (it) is in the province of Galatia. The city of Anquira, which is in the province of Galatia, where is St. Ploton the martyr. From the mountains of Armœnia flow two streams,—the Tygris and the Euphrates: and the Tygris irrigates the lands of the Assyrians, and the Euphrates the lands of Mesopotamia. But the Phison irrigates all the lands of Ethiopia, and stretches to Egypt. The Geon waters the lands of Euilath, and passes out near Jerusalem. From the Mount of Olives the Lord ascended into Heaven, and there close by is the cave which is called matzi, which is interpreted of the disciples, where the Lord when he preached in Jerusalem rested. The field of the Lord, which is in Galgala, is watered from the fountain of Elisha; it bears more or less six measures of corn; it is ploughed in the month of August,

There also is the vine which the Lord planted, which vine bears fruit at Pentecost, and (the fruit) is conveyed thence to Constantinople, and from thence the produce of the vine, like that of the field, is transmitted each at its own time. The city of Lenida beyond Jordan, distant from Jericho seven miles. In that same Lenida Moses struck a stone with a rod, and water flowed forth. Thence a larger stream of water flows which waters all Lenida itself. There also is the middle finger of Nicolas. There also Moses departed from the world, and there also are the hot waters in which Moses washed, and in these hot waters lepers are cured. In the place where the Lord was baptised there there is a marble column, and on that column is fastened an iron cross. There is the church of St. John the Baptist, which Anastasius the Emperor built,—which church was built high on very large vaults, for the purpose of security against Jordan when it is full. In which church monks pass their time, which monks receive six solidi each per annum, as a livelihood

There the Lord was baptised beyond Jordan. There is a hill of moderate size which is called Armoria. Mount Abur is in Galilee. There St. Helias was seized up (to heaven). The monument of St. Helysæus, where he blessed a fountain, is there, and

e. inaegypto. ciuitas memphi. ubi pharao manebat. ubi etioseph: in carcere missus fuerat. Ibi sunt monasteria duo. unus ē. religionis uuandalorum et alius romanorum. hoc ē. uuandalorum scī heremiæ. Romanorum scī appolonii heremitæ. Cæsarea cappadocia. Ibi ē. scs mammes hermita et martyr. qui mulsit agrestia et fecit caseum. et scs mercurius martyr. In ipsa prouintia ē ciuitas sebesta ubi sunt numero. xl. martyres quae. ē. in prouintia cappadocia. Ciuitas. gangra. Ibi. ē. scs. martyr. Galenicus quae. ē. in prouintia galatiæ. Ciuitas. eucatta. ubi. ē. scs. martyr theodorus. quae. e. in prouintia galatiæ. Cinitas anquira quae. e. in prouintia galatiæ. ubi. e. scs. Ploton martyr. De montib: armœniæ exeunt flumina duo. tygris et eufrates. & inrigat. tygris terras assyrioru. & eufrates inrigat terras mesopotamiæ. Phison aut inrigat omne trā. æthiopie et prex adaegyptum. Geon. rigat terram euilath & transit iuxta Hierlm. De monte oliueti ascendit dns in cœlis et ibi ppe. e. spelunca. quæ dicitur matzi quod interpretatur discipulorum. ubi dns quando pdicabat in hierlm requiescebat. Agerdni qui. e. in galgala inrigat de fonte helisæ. ferit plus minus modios sex aratur mense augusto. medius ipse ager. et occurrit ad pascham. et in cenadni et pascha comunicatur. et alia medietas. cum illuc rectum fuerit. aratur et cum alia messe occurrit. Ibi. e. et uitis qua dns posuit. quā utus in pentecosten fructu dat. et inde comunicatur constantinopolim. et exinde. tem de agro quam deuote transmittit. suo quoq: tempr. Ciuitas lenida. transiordane. habens de hiericho mil vij. In ipsa leuida moyses lapide in deuirga percussit et fluxer. aquae. Indemaior aqua exiit quae ipsa leuida omnem inrigat. Ibi hab & dactalum. Nicolaū maiorem. Ibi et moyses de seculo transiuit et ibi aquas calidas sunt ubi moyses lauit. & in ipsas aquas calidas lepscitantur. In loco ubi baptizatus dns. e. ibi. e. una columna marmorea et in ipsa columna facta. e. crux ferrea. Ibi. e. eccla scī iohannis baptistae quam fabricauit anastasius impr. qua eccla sup cameras maiores excelsa fabricata. e. proiordane quando implet. In qua eccla monachi morantur. qui monachi senos solidos pannum accipiunt puita sua transeunda.

Ibi dns baptizatus. e. transiordane. Ibi. e. mons modicus qui appellatur armoria. Mons abur ingalilea. e. Ibi scs Helias raptus. e. Memoria scī helysei ubi fontem illū benedix. Ibi. e. et sup ipsa memoria eccla fabricata. e. Abunde dns baptizatus. e. usq:

over the same monument a church was built. From the place where the Lord was baptised to the place where the Jordan enters the Dead Sea is five miles, and the Dead Sea itself is where Sodom and Gomorra were drowned, along with three others, which five cities were near the Dead Sea. Where also is the wife of Loth, who was made a statue of salt: and it increases as the moon increases, and diminishes as the moon diminishes. On the mount of Olives the Lord rested his shoulders on a stone, in which stone his shoulders sunk as in soft wax, which place is called Ancona,—near which is a church, where is St. Tecla, and the place itself is called Bethphage. Thence the colt of the ass on which the Lord sat was taken, with which he entered by the gate of Benjamin into Jerusalem, in reference to which we read,—O sea, wherefore art thou troubled, and thou Jordan, wherefore art thou turned back; and ye mountains, wherefore do ye leap like rams, and ye little hills, like the lambs of the sheep. In which place, round about the Jordan, there are, to wit, many little hills; and when the Lord descended to baptism, the mountains themselves sported before him with leapings, and at this day seem as though they were dancing. Sarapha of Sidonia, as it is written, is in Syria felix secunda, close to Mount Carmel. It is twelve miles from Sarapha to Sidon, and therefore it is called Saraphtha of Sidonia, because at that time Sidon was the metropolis, but now Saraphtha is the metropolis. There St. Helyas was sent to that widow who fed him, and he raised her son to life. There is a church of St. Helyseus, for the name of the woman whom he visited is not mentioned, only that she was a widow. Lazarus, whom the Lord raised from the dead, is known because he was raised from the dead. His second death no one knows. This happened in Bethany, a mile distant from Jerusalem, and at the raising of St. Lazarus from the dead. In that place, before Easter, all people congregate, and masses are celebrated. In Arabia are thirteen cities which were destroyed by Joshua the son of Nun, where Amorites, Gergesites, and Serezites dwelt,—namely, Juncta, Nolumta, Medena, Musica, Filadelpia, Gerassa, Genara, Nostrada, Mascoya, Dara, Anila, Capitulia, Astra. Where Jerusalem is it is called the province of Palestine, the land of Chana. Thence (onward is) Galilee. Thence (onward) Syria. Thence (onward) Mesopotamia. Thence (onward) on the left, is Armœnia prima, Armœnia secunda, and Persarmœnia, which Armœnias are under the Emperors. In the province of Asia (is) the city of Ephesus, where (are) the seven holy brothers sleeping, and a young Hircan dog at their feet. Their names, to wit: Artellidis, Diomedis, Eugenius, Stephanus, Probatis, Sabbatis, and Quiriacus,—whose mother, Caratina, is called in Greek and Latin Felicitas. There is St. Timothy, the disciple of Lord Paul. Near Mount Syna, below the city,—there St. Moses fought with Abimelech. From Jerusalem to Elusath are three stations. From Glutiar to Alia are seven stations,

ubi iordanis in mare mortuo intrat. s. mil. v. & ipse e maris mortuus. ubi sodoma et gomorra dimerser. cum aliis trib: quinq: ciuitates fuer. Juxta mare mortuum ubi. e. uxor loth. quae facta. e. statua salis. & quo modo crescit luna crescit. et ipsa. et quomodo minuitur luna diminuit. et ipsa. In monte oliueti dns sup lapide humeros imposuit. Inqua petra ambo humerieis descender. sicut incera molle. quilocus ancona dicitur. Ibi et eccla fabricata e. Ubi prope. e. eccla ubi scā tecla. e. & ipse locus dicitur. Bethfage. Inde pullus asinæ que dns sedit. adductus e. Cum quo intrauit de portu Benjamin in hierlm. Ubi legitr maris quae conturbatus. e. et tu iordanis quare conuersus es retrorsum. et uos montes quare gestis tis. sicut arietes et uos colles sicut agnionium. Ubi circa iordanem. e. hoc. e. monti cellisunt multi. & quando dns. ad baptismū descendit. Ipsi montes ante ipsum ambulabant gestiendo & hodie uelut saltantes uidentur. Sarapha sidoniæ quod scriptu. e. in ipsa felix. secunda syria iuxta monte carmelu. xij. mil. habet. De sarapha usq: in sidonā et ppt hoc dicta. e. sarapha sidoniæ. quid ipso tempr. metropoliserat Sidona a sarapha et. modo saraphae. metropolis. Ubi scs Helyas missus. e. ad uiduam illā quieum pasceret et filium eis suscitauit. Ibi eccla scī helysei e. nam. nom. mulieris nondicitur. nisitantum modo uidua. Lazarum quem dns resuscitauit. scitur. quia resuscitatus. e. secunda morte eius nemo cognouit. Hoc in bethania contigit miliario pe hierlm et in resurrectione scī lazari. In ipso loco ante pascha dominico omnis populus congregat et missas cælebrantur. In Arabia sunt cinitates quas hiesunaue destrux. ubi manebant amorrei. gergesaci. et serezei tredecim. Id. e. iuncta nolunta medena. musica. filadelphia gerassa. genara. nostrada. mascoga. dara. auila. capitulia. astra. Ubi. e. hierlm puintia palestina dicitur. terra chanae. Inde galilea. Inde Syria. Inde Mesopotamiæ. Inde sinistra armoenia prima. e. secunda armoenia. et psa. armoenia. Quae armoeniæ. sub imperatores sunt. In prouintia asia. ciuitas. ephesa. ubi. s. septem fratres dormientes. et catulus uiricanus ad pedes eor Nomina eorum. Id. e. actellidis. diomedis. eugenius. stephanus. probatis. sabbatis. et quiriacus. quoru mater. caratina dicitur grecae. latinae felicitas. Ibi. e. scs timotheus. discipulus domni Pauli Juxta monte syna infra ciuitate. Ibi scs. moyses. cum abimelech pugnavit. De hierlm in eluzath mansiones iij. Deglutiarinalia. mansiones ij. quāille Alexander magnus macedo fabricauit. De illa usq: in monte syna mansiones vij. Sic compendiarie

which Alexander the Great of Macedon built. From that place to Mount Syna are eight stations. If you wish to go by a short road, (go) by the desert. Urbicius was called Prefect of the Empire, who was Prefect to seven Emperors, and placed crowns on the head of these Emperors, and himself took them from their heads. There is a place at the third mile-stone from Jerusalem. When Lady Mary, the mother of the Lord, was going to Bethlehem, she descended from an ass and sat upon a stone, and blessed it. But the same Prefect Urbicius cut that stone, and made it square in the fashion of an altar, wishing to take it to Constantinople; and when it came to the gate of St. Stephen he could not move it further,—which stone one good yoke of oxen was (up to this time) able to draw. And when they saw that they were unable to move it on farther than it was before, it was recalled to the sepulchre of the Lord, and there an altar was made out of the stone itself. From the altar itself there is a communication. Notwithstanding it is behind the sepulchre of the Lord. But the same Urbicius the Prefect died at Constantinople under the Emperor Anastasius, and they buried him. Which Urbicius the earth did not receive. At the third time the sepulchre threw him out.

Anastasius built in the province of Mesopotamia (a city) which is called Dara. It extends in length to three miles. When, on account of the Persians, the Emperors were coming to ruin in the province, (this was) where they dug a ditch, because water is not to be found except there,—in which city a river emerges at the head of the city, (and) sinks under the earth (again), because the whole stream is encircled by a wall. The city of Metellim is in Persarmœnia. It is the metropolis. Another city (is) Arcanso—another Cocurso—another Germannia. In Persia there lies the body of St. Daniel. (The place) is called Susa, (and is) thirty miles from Babylon. There also are the three children. In which city the habitation of men is not, on account of serpents and Centaurs. This Edoxius the Deacon stated, who is from that province. The invention of the Holy Cross, when it was found by Helena, the mother of Constantine, on the 17th calends of October, for seven days there in Jerusalem masses are celebrated in honour of the Lord, and the cross itself is shown. In the province of Cilicia, Egea is the name given to a city where it happens that for forty days a market is held, and no one claims anything of them (that take part in the market). If after the forty days one were found negotiating as to anything, he is obliged to pay a tax to the officer of the public treasury. In the province of Cilicia, the city of Tharso. Thence was Apollonius. From Tarsa to the city of Adana thirty miles. From Adana to Masista thirty miles. From Masista to Anaster and to Ægeas sixty miles. From Ægeas to Alexandria, famous for its corn, sixty miles. From Alexandria

uolueris ambulare per heremum. Urbicius dicebatur ppositus imperii. quia septem imperatores ppositus fuit. et coronas ipsis imperatorib: incapite ponebat. & ipseas deeoru capite deponebat et ipseos castigabat. e. locus tertio miliario de hierlm ciuitate. Dum domna maria mater dni iret in bethleem. descendit deasina. et sedit suppetram & benedixeam. Ipse uero ppositus urbicius ipsum lapide incidit. et fecit eum quadru inmodum altaris. nolenseum constantinopolim dirigere & dum adportu sci stephani. uenir& iam amplius eumouere nonpotuit. quem lapidem unus uigus bonum ducebat & dum uiderent quia nullatenus potuer. cum inantea mouere renocatus. ad sepulchru dni. et ibi altaris deipsa petra factuse. & deipso altare comunicatur. Tamen post sepulchrum dni. e. Ipse uero urbicius ppositus. sub anastasio imperatore constantinopolim moritur. et obriuerunt. quem urbicum terra nonrecepit. tertio eum sepulchrum foris iactauit.

Fabricauit anastasius in mesopotamia puintia quae Dara dicitur. ten & in longitudine mil. iii. propt psos quando inprouintia Imperatores ad pdendu uenibant. ubi fossato figebant quia aquae nullatenus inueniunt nisi ibi inqua ciuitate fluuius exit adcapud. ciuitatis mergit sub tra quia ipse fluius omnis muro cinctus. e. ciuitas metellim inpsa. armoenia. e. ipsa. e. metropolis. alia ciuitas arcauso. alia cocurso. alia germanicia. Inpsida. ibi iacet corpus sci danielis. Susa dicitur xxx. De babyllonia ibi sunt: et tres pueri. Inqua ciuitate habitatio hominum. n. e. ppt serpentes. et epocentauros. Hoc eudoxius diac. dix. qui deipsa puintia. e. Inuentio scae crucis quando inuenta. e. abhelena matre constantini. xvii. Kal. octob. & per septem dies. in hierlm ibi ad scm dni missas caelebrantur. et ipsa crux ostenditur. In puintia cilitia. egea dicitur. cinitas ubi. e. xl. dies commertia geruntur et nemo de eis aliquid requirit. si post xl. dies inuentus fuerit. Negotium gerere fiscali reddit In prouintia cilitia. ciuitas tharso. inde appollonius fuit. De tarsi usq: adana cinitate. mil. xxx. De dana usq: ad masista. xxx. De masista usq: adanasta usq: aegeas lx. De aegeas usq: ad alexandriam. graniosa lx. Ab alexandria acuto. sausa. anthiochia. lx. De antiochia usq: inquiri ubi sunt sci cosmas & damianus. qua ibi & pcussi scs sergis. & baccho. mil. lx. De barbarissa. usq: ad heneapoli. In canolico m. lxxx. De canolico usq: inconstantina. mil. lx. De constantina in dessa. lxxx. ubi abgarus rex dno xpo scripsit manebat deodessa usq: in dara. cxx. De dara inamiada. lxxx. quae. e. ad fines psarum: Deamiada usq: ramusa xviii.

EXPLICI.

Antioch sixty miles. From Antioch to Inquiro, where are St. Cosmas and St. Domianus, sixty miles. From Barbarissa to Heneapolis, in Canolicus, eighty miles. From Canolicus to Constantina seventy miles. From Constantina to Dessa eighty where King Abgarus, (who) wrote to the Lord Christ, lived. From Odessa to Dara one hundred and twenty. From Dara to Amiada eighty, which is at the limits of the Persians. From Amiada to Ramusa eighteen.

My explanation is completed.





APPENDIX B.

ON THE JERUSALEM OF JOSEPHUS.

"Jerusalem," writes Josephus,¹ "fortified by three walls—except where it was encompassed by its impassable ravines, for there it had but a single rampart—was built, the one division fronting the other, on two hills, separated by an intervening *gorge*, at which the rows of houses terminated. Of these hills, that on which the upper town was situated is much the higher, and straighter in its length. Accordingly, on account of its strength, it was styled the Fortress² by King David, the father of Solomon, by whom the temple was originally erected; but by us, the Upper Market-place. The other, which bears the name of Acra, and supports the lower town, is of a gibbous form.³ Opposite to this was a third hill, naturally lower than *the Acra*,⁴ and formerly separated from it by another broad ravine. Afterwards, however, the Hasmonæans, during their reign, filled up the ravine with the view of uniting the city to the temple; and levelling the summit of *the Acra*⁴ they reduced its elevation, so that the temple might be conspicuous above other objects in this quarter also. The Valley of the Cheesemakers, as it was designated, which divided, as we have said, the hill of the upper town from that of the lower, extend as far as Siloam, *for so we call the fountains* whose waters are at once sweet and copious. On the exterior the two hills on which the city stood were skirted by deep *gorges*, so precipitous on either side that *there was nowhere an accessible part*."

Of the two hills first referred to in this passage, the one on which the upper city stood, called by the Jews of the writer's time the Upper Market-place, has, with, I think, the single exception of

¹ *Bell. Jud.*, v. 4, 1. I quote, except where italics are used in the text, from Traill's translations of "The Wars of the Jews." The original has been given in Appendix A.

² φρούριον.

³ ἀμφίκυρτος.

⁴ τῆς Ἀκρας.

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Lightfoot,¹ been universally identified with the hill on which stands the modern Zion, the south-western quarter of the modern city. And it seems to me that its limits northwards are sufficiently indicated by the text, for should we extend them farther in that direction than the depression running from the Jaffa Gate to the central valley, as proposed by Fergusson, Bonar, Schwartz, and Sandie,² we should contradict the declaration that on the exterior the hill was "skirted by deep gorges."

With the second hill our real difficulties begin. The following appear to be the conditions with which the identification of it must accord :—

1. It was divided from the first by a valley at which the rows of houses terminated, and which extended to Siloam.
2. It was lower than the first hill.
3. It was curved in plan and on both sides or at both extremities.³
4. It had opposite to it a third hill, naturally lower than "the Acra,"⁴ and formerly separated from the second hill by another broad ravine.

¹ *Chorographical Century of the Land of Israel*, chaps. 22-3. He makes it, curiously enough, the N.W. hill. But he had no accurate plans or notices of height to guide him, and was bent on identifying it with the Zion of David, which he held to be "on the sides of the north."

² See references above, at p.

³ ἀμφίκυρτος—generally interpreted as analogous to the shape of the moon in her third quarter, but equally applicable to the crescent form of the first quarter. It may also be translated as "sloping down on both sides." (See Birch, *Quarterly Reports*, 1883, p. 153.) The word has been interpreted in many ways. (See Robinson, i. 278, note; Reland, p. 852.)

⁴ It is to be noted that whereas Josephus speaks of the second hill as bearing the name of "Acra" (ὁ καλούμενος Ἀκρά), he uses the feminine article in connection with "the Acra" (τῆς Ἀκρας), which he states was higher than the third hill, and the summit of which was levelled. Lewin (p. 337) interprets the latter Acra as referring not to the second hill itself but to the Macedonian keep called Acra which stood upon it, and he adds in a note—"No end of confusion has arisen from Josephus' habit of using the same word

5. The effect of filling up this ravine, as was done by the Hasmonæans, was to unite the city to the temple.

6. The summit of "the Acra" being levelled and reduced in elevation, the temple was conspicuous over other objects in this quarter also.

7. Like the first hill, it was on the exterior skirted by deep ravines.¹

8. Being so encircled it had but a single wall.

The frontispiece to this work is a reproduction through photography of a model of the rock levels of the city prepared for me by Herr Schick, who has for many years resided in Jerusalem, and either superintended as architect or been personally conversant with almost every building operation that has taken place within or around it during that period. It was constructed on the basis of successive contour lines of 10 feet, deduced from the observations of Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, Captain Conder, and Herr Schick himself, and embodies the results of, in all, about 265 observations.² A glance at it will, I think, show the position of the second hill as

"in the same paragraph in totally different senses. Thus here we "have Acra referred to first as a quarter of the city and then as the "Macedonian citadel." The use of the feminine article is hardly a proof of the distinction here referred to, as on at least two occasions it is prefixed to the word when used to designate not a tower but a district; thus Simon is said (*Bell. Jud.*, v. 6, 1) to have held "the "Acra, which was the lower town" (τὴν Ἀκραν, αὕτη δ' ἦν ἡ κάτω πόλις); and the palace of Queen Helena is said (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 6, 3) to have been "in the centre of the Acra" (κατὰ μέσσην τὴν Ἀκραν). But a careful examination of the parallel passages in the Antiquities of the Jews inclines me to the opinion that Mr. Lewin is right. In either case the argument in the text holds good, and indeed the word translated "summit" in the above passage will even more naturally apply to the levelled portion of the north-western Haram than to the tower itself, which I believe to have stood on it.

¹ See Birch, *Quarterly Report*, 1883, p. 152.

² A list of these (though not in all respects a strictly accurate one) will be found in the *Quarterly Report* of the Palestine Fund for April, 1880, p. 82. For reasons stated in the text (p.), the south-western corner of the Haram Area is left blank in the sketch.

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clearly as the position of the first. Stretching from Siloam in the south, it includes the eastern range, on which stood Ophel, the temple, the fortress of the Acra, and the Antonia, as well as the rising ground to the north-north-west of the latter, on which are now the houses of the English and Austrian Consulates. It appears to answer every requirement of the historian. It is separated from the first hill by a valley, at which the rows of houses must, from the steepness of its sides, have terminated, and which extends to Siloam. It must always have been lower than the first hill. It is curved in plan, and with a shape not unlike that of the moon in her third quarter, sloping down—at least towards the south—on all sides. It has opposite to it a third hill (half way up the slope of which stands the modern Church of the Sepulchre), which the rock levels show to have been formerly divided from it by a broad ravine, and which may well have been always lower than "the Acra" or fortress which stood upon the second. The effect of filling up this ravine has been to unite the city, which must long before the time of the Asmonæans have extended to the third hill, to the temple hill. The north-western corner of the Haram Area, where I believe the fortress of Acra to have stood, bears at this day the traces of having been cut down through solid rock in a manner which is simply unintelligible, unless from some such motive as that described by Josephus in the text. And lastly, exactly like the first hill, on every side except the north, where it had a double wall, it was skirted on its exterior by precipitous ravines.

In view of this correspondence with the requirements of the text it seems strange that by so many writers the eastern hill has been passed over in fixing the site of the second hill of Josephus. I subjoin a list of the leading so-called identifications that have obtained currency:—

1. The south-western hill or modern Zion—
Lightfoot.
2. The north-western hill or Christian quarter of the modern city—
Robinson.
Fergusson.
Schwartz.
Author of essay on "The True Site of Calvary," in
Museum of Classical Antiquities.
Tobler.
Raumer.

3. The eastern slope of the north-western hill, including the valley between it and the north-eastern—

Krafft.
Barclay.
Sepp.
De Vogue.
De Saulcy.
Rosen.
Warren.
Conder.
Kitto.

4. The same with the addition of the north-eastern hill—
Ritter.

5. The space between the Tyropean valley and the Temple Hill—
Pierrotti.

6. The north-eastern hill (north of the Haram)—
Williams.
Schultz.
Bonar.
Sandie.
Kiepert.

7. The Ophel slope to the south of the temple—
Coulomb.
Menke.
Caspari.
Furrer.
Riess.
Birch.

8. The same, but extending as far north as the northern limit of the Haram—
Thrupp.
Unruh.
Clark and Grove.

9. The same, but including with the temple the eastern slope of the north western hill—
Lewin.
Schick.

The first of the above locations it is unnecessary to discuss. It is

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no impeachment of the real learning of Dr. Lightfoot to say that he had not available such a plan, either of the city or of the site on which it stood, as could enable him to avoid drawing largely on imagination, and he seems to have been misled besides by the weight he attached to the passage in the 48th Psalm, which we have discussed above,¹ and which seemed to him to necessitate the placing of the upper city, identified by him with Zion, on the north-western hill.

The second and third locations, which may be considered together, have been very generally accepted, both by those who believe in, and those who deny the authenticity of the present site of the sepulchre. Let us test them by the requirements we have specialized above.

1. Acra is divided from the first hill by a deep ravine at which the houses terminated, and which extended to Siloam. Is it possible to explain this as referring to the valley stretching eastward from the Jaffa gate? What possible connection had Siloam to do with that? and how could the valley in question be described as one at which the houses terminated, when it was traversed by one of the main walls of the city?²

2. Acra is lower than the first hill. But the north-western hill is considerably higher. The summit of the modern Zion (the south-western hill or upper city of Josephus) is 2,550 feet above the sea. The north-western hill swells up within the modern wall to 2,590.

3. Acra is ἀμφίκυρος. A glance at the contours of the rock levels will best satisfy the reader how far this term, interpret it as you will, applies to the north-west hill.

4 and 5. These requirements, so far as regards the third hill being opposite to the second, and the temple being united to the city when the intervening ravine was filled up, will of course apply even though the position of the second and third hills be reversed.

6. But how any reduction of height of the summit of the Acra, whether that term be held to apply to the north-western hill itself, or to a fortress situated upon it, could result in making the temple conspicuous "above other objects in this quarter also," it is beyond my power to conjecture. As to a reduction in height of the hill itself, that seems absurd in the face of it. There is no trace of such; the hill still rises in gradual slope 200 feet above the level of the temple area. As to a reduction of a fortress on the hill, Captain Warren indeed draws a sketch of where such a fortress may have stood, by imagining a rounded knoll erecting itself seventy feet from out the

¹ *Ut supra*, p.

² Coulomb, p. 91.

small plateau marked 2,400 in the contour plan,¹ which knoll he supposes to have been cut down with the fortress that stood upon it. But, apart from the fact that this is entirely a work of imagination, by what conceivable folly could such a site have been selected for the great watch tower of the Macedonians. It was separated from the temple it was supposed to overawe by a deep ravine. It was in turn itself commanded by the rising ground to the west. The formation of the imagined knoll must have indeed been exceptional (and exceptional it must be owned it is in Warren's remarkable diagram) to have justified the adoption of such a site.

7. Acra, like the first hill, is bounded by deep ravines. Again we refer to the contour map. How can this be stated of the north-west hill?

8. Being so encircled it had but a single wall. But, according to Robinson, Fergusson, Tobler, Schwartz, and the writer in the Museum of Classical Antiquities, who all identify it with the whole or the greater part of the north-western hill within the modern walls, it was everywhere bounded by *two* walls,² while exactly the same thing applies to the writers of the third group, who restrict the identification to the eastern slope. Outside of that slope on the west and north passed both the second wall and the wall of Agrippa.

In all cases, therefore, where they are capable of application, the tests we have gathered from the description of Josephus fail to apply to the north-western hill, or to any portion of it. There are two other indications from the history of the siege which seem equally conclusive.

1. John and the Zealots, when debarred all egress from the Temple, are said to have erected four very large towers: "one at the north-eastern corner, a second above the Xystus, the third at another corner opposite the lower tower, and the last was constructed over the top of the Pastopheria"³ (or priest chambers?). Wherever the last may have been, it seems clear that the third was at the south-west corner of the present Haram enclosure, and if so where was the lower town, situated as Josephus has told us in Acra, but on the slope, or the slope and the valley, leading down to the south?⁴

¹ *The Temple or the Tomb*—See plan at p. 33.

² Raumer's plan is too indefinite as to the walls to be referred to.

³ *Bell. Jud.* iv. 9, 12.

⁴ See Birch, *Quarterly Report*, 1883, p. 152.

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2. After the capture of the temple, the Romans, Josephus tells us, "set fire to the residence of the magistrates, the Acra, the council chamber, and the place Ophla, the flames spreading as far as the palace of Queen Helena, which was in the centre of the Acra,"¹ and "on the ensuing day, the Romans having driven the brigands from the lower town, burnt all as far as Siloam."² This reference in the former of these passages to Ophla, which was the portion of the eastern hill immediately to the south of the temple, and the evident inference in the latter that the lower town stretched down to Siloam, is simply unintelligible if we place Acra, which supported the lower town, on the north-western hill.

The same objections or nearly all of them apply to the fourth and sixth of the locations of Acra referred to above, and the sixth is open to this further objection that in no sense can the rising ground north of the Haram Acra be said to be "fronting" the hill that supported the Upper City. The fifth location, that of Pierrotti, which would confine the hill of Acra to an area between the Tyropean valley and the temple hill, is one of the most extraordinary perversions of topography with which I have met, and only advanced on the theory of a possible valley splitting up the latter from north to south, parallel to the Tyropean, of which there is no trace except in the imagination of its author.³

A nearer approach to what I conceive to be the true state of the case, is made by those whom I have grouped under the seventh, eighth, and ninth heads respectively. Yet they all appear to me to err in one respect or another—the sixth and seventh because they embrace too little of the eastern hill, the eighth because they include with the eastern the valley between it and the north-western, and the eastern slope of the latter itself. Those who limit Acra to the district south of the temple are forced to imagine a valley on its south dividing it from the latter,⁴ while recent explorations have shown that no such valley can ever have existed, and the contours of the rock-levels appear to render it most improbable that the gradual rise of the plateau to the north-west of the Haram should not have been included in the description of Josephus, and justified his declaration that the third hill, which supported the extended city, and which I take to be clearly that which now holds the Church of the Sepulchre,

¹ *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 6, 3.

² *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 7, 2.

³ *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 17.

⁴ Caspari, p. ; Coulomb, p.

was opposite to it. Nor can I by any ingenuity include with Mr. Lewin and Herr Schick any portion of that hill and its intervening valley in the description by the Jewish historian of what appears to me to be one single and continuous ridge.

Venturing then to draw the limits of Acra as shown in the sketch subjoined, I proceed to inquire into the position of the other hills in

Insert Sketch.

the account of Josephus.

As to the third hill, we have seen that it must, of necessity, if my views of the position of the second be correct, be the present north-western hill. The only possible objection is its height, but if Mr. Lewin be right in his interpretation of "*the Acra*" referred to in the text, there is little in that. The tower of the fortress which is said to have been loftier than it, may well have risen to the height of Hippicus, which was 80 cubits¹ or 120 feet, or of Phasaelus, which was 90 cubits or 135 feet,² and it started from a base which we are told was cut down, as indeed we at present see it, by the labour of three years,³ and is still 2,410 above the sea. The highest point of the opposite hill within the walls is 2,590, and the long and gradual slope that intervened may well from this point of view have led to the comparison being rather with the ridge that rises to the present site of the Church of the Sepulchre (2,490 feet) than with the eminence beyond.

Of the fourth hill Josephus writes:⁴ "The city, overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond the ramparts, and the people, incorporating with the city the quarter north of the temple close to the hill made a considerable advance, insomuch that a fourth hill, which is called Bezetha, was also surrounded with habitations. It lay over against the Antonia, from which it was separated by a deep fosse, purposely excavated to cut off the communication between the foundations of the Antonia and the hill, that they might be at once less easy of access and more elevated. Thus the depth of the trench materially increased the altitude of the towers."

Lying as this hill did north of the temple and over against the Antonia, there is not so much scope for dispute in regard to it as

¹ *Bell. Jud.*, v. 4, 3.

² *Bell. Jud.*, v. 4, 3.

³ *Jut.* xiii. 6, 7.

⁴ *Bell. Jud.*, v. 4, 2.

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to the other three. It has, however, variously been held to be the area to the extreme north-east of the space now enclosed within the city walls;¹ the whole district within the walls north of the Haram and east of the depression running from the Damascus gate;² the western portion only of the latter district,³ and a largely extended area to the north of the present walls altogether.⁴ I believe the first of these views to be the correct one.

A glance at the frontispiece will make clear what I mean, and I think from the contour lines will go far to support my view. The area in question is small, but there is nothing in the language of Josephus to lead us to expect it should be otherwise, and in locality it exactly answers to the description of the historian. Much of the confusion which has arisen on this point is caused, as it seems to me, by the identifying the whole area enclosed by the third wall of Agrippa with the New Town or Bezetha, for which there appears to be no warrant. In the passage before us the Jewish writer is dealing with hills and hills alone, and most of the enclosure afterwards referred to by him as encircled by the third wall was on the third hill, or a prolongation of the third hill, not on the fourth.

Before, however, considering the line of the walls in the time of Josephus, it may be well to consider what is meant by "the city of David," as referred to both in the Biblical writings and in those of the Jewish historian.

In the account in the second book of Samuel⁵ of the capture of Jerusalem, we are told that David on approaching Jerusalem was taunted as to the strength of their mountain fortress by the Jebusites, who boasted, "Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, *that are* hated of David's soul, *he shall* be chief and captain. Wherefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not come into

¹ Kraft, Sepp.

² De Vogue, Menke, Furrer, Schick, Robinson.

³ Capt. Warren.

⁴ Williams, Schultz, Fergusson, Thrupp, Tobler, Bartlett, Bonar.

⁵ 2 Samuel v. 6-9.

"the house. So David dwelt in the fort and called it the city of David. And David built round about from Millo and inward."¹

In like manner the Chronicler² writes, "And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither. Nevertheless David took the castle of Zion which is the city of David. And David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. So Joab the son of Zeruiah went first up and was chief. And David dwelt in the castle; therefore they called it the city of David. And he built the city round about, and Joab repaired the rest of the city."³

Josephus, writing more than eleven hundred years afterwards, and with no written annals before him but those I have quoted, tells us⁴ that David "took the lower city by force, but the Acra held out still;⁵ whence it was that the king . . . promised that he who should first go over the ravines that were beneath the Acra⁶ and ascend to it itself and take it, should have the command of the entire people conferred upon him," and that this having been done by Joab, and the Jebusites cast out of "the Acra,"⁷ the king himself rebuilt Jerusalem and named it the city of David, and abode there all the time of his reign." Further, that he made buildings round about the lower city, and joined "the Acra⁸ to it and made it one body, and so it was that he cast the Jebusites out of Jerusalem and called it by his own name."

Here we have "the stronghold of Zion" identified with "the city of David," and also with "the lower city" of Josephus. If I have proved in the text⁹ that by the canonical writers the word Zion is applied to the eastern hill, it follows that on that hill stood the original city of David, and "the lower city" of the Jewish historian. Creeping up the southern slope of that hill, protected on the one side by the Kedron ravine, on the other by the steep declivities that stretched down to the Tyropean valley, lay the hamlets of the

¹ "And David dwelt in the hold (*ἐν τῇ περιοχῇ*) and it was called the city of David, and he built the city round about from the citadel (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας*), and he built his own house," LXX.

² 1 Chronicles xi. 5-8.

³ The last clause as to Joab is omitted in the Septuagint.

⁴ *Antiq.* vii. 3, 1-2.

⁵ *τῆς ἀκρας λειπομένης.*

⁶ *φάραγγων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκραν.*

⁷ *ἐκ τῆς ἀκρας.*

⁸ *τὴν ἀκραν.*

⁹ See page

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Jebusites, a strong position, enjoying in the modern Virgin's Pool the rare advantage of a perennial flow of water, and guarded by a citadel or Acra, which appears to have been in some way separate from it. Where the exact site of this citadel or Millo or Acra was it is not easy to determine. One would naturally suppose it to have been towards the summit of the hill on which the town itself stood, but wherever it was, it was joined to the lower city by a circumvallation, and, wherever it was, that lower city and "the city of David" can have been nowhere but on the slope between what was afterwards the temple area and the pool of Siloam.

Locating it thus, we see the force of the passage, "Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, *Go up*, rear an altar unto the "Lord in the threshingfloor of Araunah the Jebusite,"¹ and of these other passages, where the ark, after having been brought from the house of Obed-edom² to the City of David, is said to have been by Solomon brought "*up*" to the temple.³ And, further, we see the force of the passage referred to in 2 Samuel v. 8 as applied to the temple which afterwards occupied the upper part of the hill in question, "The blind and the lame shall not come into *the house*."

This position of the "City of David," first, as I think, indicated by Oldshausen⁴ and enforced by Caspari,⁵ has been vindicated with much force and clearness by the Rev. W. F. Birch in a series of articles in the *Quarterly Reports* of the Palestine Exploration Fund from 1877 to the present date,⁶ by Dr. Robertson Smith in his

¹ 2 Samuel xxiv. 18.

² 2 Samuel vi. 12; 1 Chron. xv. 29.

³ 1 Kings viii. 1; 2 Chron. v. 2.

⁴ *Zur Topographie der alten Jerusalem*, 1833, p. 42.

⁵ *Chron. and Geograph. Introd. to the Life of Christ*, pp. 276-282.

⁶ *Quarterly Reports*. On the Sepulchres of David and of the Kings of Judah, 1877, p. 195; Zion the City of David, 1878, pp. 129, 178; 1879, p. 104; The Tomb of David, 1879, p. 172; Nehemiah's Wall and David's Tomb, 1879, p. 176; The Tomb of David, Zion, and Josephus, 1880, p. 167; The City and Tomb of David, 1881, p. 94. It is required to find the entrance to the Tomb of David, 1881, p. 97; The Valley of Hinnom and Zion, 1882, p. 55; On Siloam and the pools, 1883, p. 105; On the Tomb of David, 1883, p. 150; On the entrance to the Tomb of David, 1883, p. 155; Notes on Pre-Exilic Jerusalem, 1884, p. 70; The City of David and Josephus, 1883, p. 77; The City and Tomb of David on Acra, commonly called Ophel, 1884, p. 196; Zion the City of David, 1885, p. 51.

article on Ancient Jerusalem, in the 9th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and by Professor Sayce in the *Quarterly Reports* for 1883 and 1884.¹ The following arguments, over and above those already referred to, are adduced by Dr. Smith, and have, as it seems to me, great force.

1. The City of David was the site of the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. David himself,² and Solomon,³ and Rehoboam⁴ were buried there, and after the division of the kingdom, Abijam,⁵ Jehoshaphat,⁶ Ahaziah,⁷ Amaziah,⁸ Azariah,⁹ Jotham,¹⁰ Abaz,¹¹ Hezekiah,¹² were all buried in the City of David, where also were buried Asa,¹³ "in the sepulchre which he had made," Joram,¹⁴ and Joash,¹⁵ though "not in the sepulchre of the kings," and Jehoiada¹⁶ the high priest, "among the kings." Now the temple, which is spoken of by Ezekiel as being "in the midst of the city,"¹⁷ is yet averred by that prophet to have been in the closest contiguity to these very sepulchres,¹⁸ so much so as to have been defiled "by the carcasses of their kings in their high places."

2. The somewhat perplexing passage in Micah (chapter iv. 8) seems best to be translated, "And thou, O tower of the flock, the Ophel of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, yea the ancient dominion shall come back, even the kingdom of the daughter of Jerusalem."¹⁹ This, as Dr. Smith points out, seems to identify "the ancient tower of the flock, the original seat of the kingdom of

¹ *Quarterly Reports*. The Topography of Præ-Exilic Jerusalem, 1883, p. 215, with Sketch Plan; Præ-Exilic Jerusalem, 1884, p. 171; The Site of Zion, 1884, p. 248.

² 1 Kings ii. 10. ³ 1 Kings xi. 43; 2 Chron. xi. 31.

⁴ 1 Kings xiv. 31; 2 Chron. xii. 16.

⁵ 1 Kings xv. 8; 2 Chron. xiv. 1.

⁶ 1 Kings xxii. 50; 2 Chron. xxi. 1.

⁷ 2 Kings ix. 28.

⁸ 2 Kings xiv. 20.

⁹ 2 Kings xv. 7.

¹⁰ 2 Kings xv. 38; 2 Chron. xxvii. 9.

¹¹ 2 Kings xvi. 20.

¹² 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

¹³ 1 Kings xv. 24; 2 Chron. xvi. 14.

¹⁴ 2 Kings viii. 24; 2 Chron. xvi. 20.

¹⁵ 2 Kings xii. 21; 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.

¹⁶ 2 Chron. xxiv. 16.

¹⁷ Ezekiel xi. 23; compare x. 9.

¹⁸ Ezekiel xliii. 7-9.

¹⁹ See *Speaker's Comment in loco*.

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"Jerusalem, with Ophel of the daughter of Zion. But Ophel is one of the few topographical names that can be traced down to Josephus, whose description shows that it lay to the south-east of the temple."

3. We read that Hezekiah "made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city,"¹ and also that he "stopped the upper water course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David."² "Gihon" Dr. Smith identifies with the Virgin's Pool. "From its name," he writes, "it must have been a true spring, while 2 Chron xxxiii. 14 teaches us to look for it in the Kedron valley. The subterranean conduit which still exists (i.e., from the Virgin's Pool to Siloam) had for its object to conduct the water inside the city, and appears to be that constructed by Hezekiah." If this be so, the position of the city of David is identified beyond doubt.

Gihon lay "down"³ from Jerusalem. It was apparently in a valley, and, from the Hebrew word used, apparently in the Kedron valley.⁴ It was the spot where Solomon was anointed king by Zadok and Nathan, and the shouts of the multitude were heard by Adonijah and his associates at En-rogel.⁵ Further, it was outside of the city.⁶ All these facts point to the site of the Virgin's Pool, but it is quite conceivable that after the construction of the conduit of Hezekiah the word may have been applied to Siloam as the recipient of the waters of the upper fountain, and strangely enough the Targum and the Syriac have Siloam for Gihon in 1 Kings i, while in 2 Chronicles xxxii. they agree with the Hebrew text. But whether the Virgin's Pool or Siloam be what is referred to by the chronicler, what were these upper water courses of Gihon of which he speaks as having been conducted into the city by Hezekiah, and to all appearance conducted by "digging the hard rock with iron"?⁷ Surely the overflow from the Virgin's Pool, which formerly found its way into the Kedron valley and past Siloam, but was afterwards and is now conducted to the latter by that remarkable channel hewn through

¹ 2 Kings xx. 20.

² 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

³ 1 Kings i. 33, 38, 49.

⁴ Grove, Art. Gihon, *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*.

⁵ 1 Kings i. 41.

⁶ Josephus *Ant.*, 7, 14, 5.

⁷ Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17.

the rock, and first traversed by Dr. Robinson,¹ which has recently furnished the well-known inscription.²

The only possible alternative, as it seems to me, is to hold that the upper water-courses of Gihon may be the springs which some writers allege collect to the north and north-east of the city, and which were brought down the valley of the Tyropean by the duct discovered by Sir Charles Warren under Robinson's Arch, which also may have eventually led to the pool of Siloam,³ and which at all events certainly was to the *west* of the *eastern* hill.

4. Manasseh constructed or repaired a wall "without the city of David on the west side of Gihon in the valley even to the entering in of the Fish Gate, and compassed about Ophel."⁴ If Gihon be the Virgin's Pool, the site of "the city of David" is again defined as being on the eastern hill.⁵

5. The indications from Nehemiah of the site of the palace of David have an important bearing on the argument. "According to Nehemiah (iii. 15, xii. 37) the city of David was reached by "a stair in the vicinity of the fountain gate and the pool of Siloah. "This ascent led up above David's palace to the water gate, where "in Nehemiah's time there was an open space in front of the temple (conf. Neh. viii. 1, with Ezra x. 9). Thus we see that David's "palace lay between the temple and the Pool of Siloah or King's "Pool."⁶

Two objections to this identification of the City of David will

¹ *Biblical Researches*, i. 338.

² This argument, which to my mind is conclusive, is quite independent of the question whether, as Professor Sayce holds, the tunnel referred to was excavated by Solomon, and not by Hezekiah, the work of the latter being confined to the tunnel connecting the upper and lower pools of Siloam. "In either case we now know the exact position of the hill through which Hezekiah's aqueduct was "excavated. It is the so-called Ophel or south-eastern hill." (Sayce, *Quarterly Report*, 1884, p. 249.)

³ This seems the view of Williams, ii. 480.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. See note on p. 23.

⁵ The same thing holds good if Gihon be Siloam.

⁶ Robertson Smith—*Encycl. Brit.*, 8th edit., article Jerusalem, p. 639.

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naturally occur to the reader. First, how is it to be reconciled with the account of the walls of Jerusalem in Nehemiah? Second, how can the limited area of the eastern hill be held to represent the site of the capital City of David? To both of these Dr. Smith has replies in some respects as novel as they are forcibly put.

First, as to the walls spoken of twice over in Nehemiah:—(Chapters iii. and xii.) In each of these passages, the one containing an account of the rebuilding of the walls, and the other of the progress of the procession along them at their dedication, the enumeration of the gates and towers is given in order; in the first commencing with the Sheep Gate, which all authorities agree was either the north-eastern or one of the western gates; and in the second, with a point between the Tower of the Furnaces and the Dung Gate. In the following list I have grouped the topographical references in order, and in parallel columns, with any indications of locality or distance that can be gleaned from other passages of Scripture.

ORDER OF BUILDING.

Neh. iii. 1-31.

V. 1. Sheep Gate.

[High Priest and Priests,
Builders.]

Tower of Meah.

Tower of Hananeel.

(At the opposite end of the city
from the Gate of the Corner.

—Jer. xxxi. 38. At the op-
posite end of the city from
the King's winepresses.—
Zech. xiv. 10.

2. [Men of Jericho, Builders.]

ORDER OF DEDICATION.¹

Neh. xii. 37-39.

V. 39. Sheep Gate.

Tower of Meah.

Tower of Hananeel.

¹ As the procession at the dedication started from between the Tower of the Furnaces and the Fountain Gate, one portion of it proceeding in one direction, and the other portion in the other, until they had compassed between them the whole circuit of the walls, it is necessary to alter the order of the references in the second list accordingly, taking the Sheep Gate, in both cases, as the point of departure. A similar list, almost identical with the one here given, will be found in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities* for May, 1853. Supplement, page 412, art. "On the True Site of Calvary."

ORDER OF BUILDING.

ORDER OF DEDICATION.

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| <p>3. Fish Gate.
(Manasseh's wall was "without the city of David on the west side of Gihon in the valley, even to the entering in of the fish gate, and compassed about Ophel."—2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.)</p> <p>5. [Tekoites, Builders.]</p> <p>6. Old Gate.
(Literally "Gate of the Old" wall or tower.—See Keil in loc.)</p> <p>7. [Men of Gibeon, and Men of Mizpah—Builders.]
Throne of the Governor on this side the river.

[Goldsmiths and Apothecaries—Builders.]</p> <p>8. Broad Wall.</p> <p>11. Tower of the Furnaces.</p> <p>13. Valley Gate
(Before the Dragon Well.—Neh. ii. 13. Apparently 1000 cubits from the Dung Gate.)
[Men of Zanoah, Builders.]</p> <p>14. Dung Gate.</p> <p>15. Gate of the Fountain.
(Between the Dung Gate and the King's Pool.—Neh. ii. 13-14.
Wall of Pool of Siloah by the King's Garden.
Stairs that go down from the City of David.</p> | <p>Fish Gate.</p> <p>Old Gate.</p> <p>39. Gate of Ephraim.
(400 cubits from the Corner Gate. — 2 Kings xiv. 13. 2 Chron. xxv. 23.
Had a street connected with it.—Neh. viii. 16.)</p> <p>38. Broad Wall.
Tower of the Furnaces.</p> <p>31. Dung Gate.</p> <p>37. Fountain Gate.</p> <p>Stairs of the City of David at the going up of the wall above the house of David.</p> |
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ORDER OF BUILDING.

ORDER OF DEDICATION.

16. Place over against the sepulchres
of David.

Pool that was made.

House of the mighty.

17. [Levites, Builders.]

18. [Rulers of Keilah, Builders.]

19. [Ruler of Mizpah, Builder.]

Place over against the going up
to the armoury at the turning
of the wall.

20. House of Eliashib the High Priest.

22. [The Priests, Builders.]

23. House of Azariah.

24. Turning of the wall—the corner.

25. The tower that lieth out from the
king's high house that was by
the Court of the Prison.

26. "Moreover, the Nethinims dwelt
in Ophel, unto the place over
against the Water Gate toward
the east, and the tower that
lieth out."

(The Water Gate had a street
connected with it.—Neh.viii.1.)

27. [Tekoites, Builders.]

Place over against the great tower
that lieth out.

Wall of Ophel.

28. Horse Gate.

(By it horses came into the king's
house.—2 Kings xi. 16.

Just outside the Temple, where
Athalia was slain.—2 Chron.
xxxiii. 14-15.

Towards the east.—Jer.xxxi.40.)

Priests' Houses.

[Priests, Builders.]

37. Water Gate (eastward
from stairs of City of
David.)

39. Prison Gate.

ORDER OF BUILDING.

ORDER OF DEDICATION.

29. [Keeper of the East Gate
Builder.]

31. Place of the Nithinims and of the
Merchants, over against the
Gate Miphkad.

The going up of the corner.

32. [Goldsmiths and Merchants,
Builders.]

32. Back to the Sheep Gate.

39. Sheep Gate.

The first point which will strike the careful student of the foregoing is the large proportion of the description of the walls which, under any interpretation, would seem only capable of interpretation as relating to the eastern hill. To this a certain portion of the extent of the wall from the Sheep Gate (at all events, as far as the Tower of Meah) must be referred, and the whole from the Gate of the Fountain back to the Sheep Gate again—in other words, taking the narrative of the rebuilding in the 3rd chapter as our basis, a portion of the wall described in verse 1, and the whole described in verses 15 to 32. According to the usual explanation the Valley Gate mentioned in verse 13 is the present western or Jaffa Gate opening on the valley that circles Jerusalem on the west. "A thousand cubits south of the Valley Gate," writes Dr. Smith,¹ "was the Dung Gate, the gate before which the rubbish heaps of the city lay. This on the common theory must have been about the south-west corner of the hill, near the present Protestant school. Between this point and the Fountain Gate, in the vicinity of the Pool of Siloah, is nearly half a mile in a straight line, and the intervening wall must have been much larger if it followed the natural line of defence. Yet Nehemiah gives no account of this section of the ramparts (Neh. iii. 14, 15). His record seems to imply that the Fountain Gate was near the Dung Gate; and similarly, in chapter xii. the procession which went southward to the Dung Gate is immediately afterwards found at the Fountain Gate. It is hardly possible that so important a part of the circuit should be twice omitted, and in fact the vast lacuna disappears at once if we suppose that the *gay* (i.e. the valley from which the Valley Gate took

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* ut supra, p. 640.

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"its name) is the Tyropæon, and that the upper city of Josephus "was not included in the circuit of Nehemiah's walls. In that case "the Valley Gate lay in the Tyropæon, somewhere near the south- "east angle of the Haram area, and the wall ran southwards along "the east side of the valley, till at the pool of Siloah an outwork "was thrown out to protect the water supply."

Such a line of wall, would besides, Dr. Smith goes on to show, solve some other difficulties. The Tyropæon, though in the heart of the city, is nowhere mentioned in Scripture. This would be explained were it in reality the Scriptural Valley of Hinnom—the boundary of the early Jerusalem on the east. Again, "by placing "the Valley Gate quite near the temple, we understand how it was "in this neighbourhood that the sacred procession in Neh. xii. began its course." And further, the temple being the real stronghold of Jerusalem, "it would have been folly in Nehemiah to "enclose a much vaster and less defensible circuit when the "inhabitants were so few that it was necessary to draft one tenth of "the whole people into the capital (Neh. xi. 1)."

The line of Nehemiah's wall, as traced by Dr. Smith, is shown roughly in the accompanying sketch.

As to the second difficulty referred to above, viz.:—the limited area enclosed in such a circuit, Dr. Smith points out that "the "popular idea that the capital of David was already a great town, "occupying a site comparable in extent with that of the later city," is inconsistent with the early history. "Zion," he writes,¹ "was "merely one of the 'mountain fortresses' found all over Palestine "as places of refuge in time of invasion, and was garrisoned by "a handful of mercenaries (the Gibbôrim). The whole levy of "Israel in David's time was but 30,000 men (2 Sam. vi. 1, compare "the 40,000 of Judges v. 8), and before the development of trade "among the Hebrews Jerusalem had not the natural conditions for "the growth of a great city. In the first instance, the town doubtless "consisted mainly of the court and its dependants, with the Jebusite "population, which must have been predominately agricultural and "limited in number by the limitation of their territory. The chief "feature in the fortifications was a town named Millo, perhaps on "the site of the modern barracks, protecting the approach of Zion "from the north. The town had but little splendour. The king

¹ *Encycl. Brit.* ut supra, p. 639.

"occupied a wooden palace, the work of foreign craftsmen, and the
 "ark still dwelt in curtains. Under Solomon, who had the true
 "Oriental passion for building and luxury, and squandered enormous
 "sums on his court, great improvements were made, especially by the
 "erection of the twin palaces 'the house of Jehovah and the house
 "'of the King,' constructed of stonework and lengthened by string-
 "courses of wooden beams in the still familiar style of Arabian
 "building. The palace, which took nearly twice as long to erect as
 "the temple, consisted of a great compass of buildings and porticos,
 "including the court of judgment, an armoury, and the palace of the
 "queen. . . . After the division of the kingdoms Jerusalem was
 "shorn of its political glory. The city itself was taken by Shishak in
 "the reign of Jeroboam, and lost the riches accumulated by Solomon.
 "The great houses of Omri and Jehu quite overshadowed the king-
 "dom of Judah, which forgot its weakness in the reign of Amaziah
 "only to receive signal chastisement from Jehoash, who took Jerusa-
 "lem, and partly levelled the walls (2 Kings xiv.). The decline and
 "fall of Samaria raised the comparative importance of the southern
 "capital; the writings of the prophets show that wealth had accu-
 "mulated and luxury increased; and so we find King Jotham adding
 "an upper gate in the northern or higher court of the temple
 "(2 Kings xv. 35; Jer. xxxvi. 10; Ezek. ix. 2); while Hezekiah,
 "as we have already seen, laboured for the improvement of the
 "water supply, and so rendered the city more capable to resist siege.
 "The later history in Chronicles adds details of fortifications erected
 "by Uzziah and Manasseh, which probably express the oral tradi-
 "tion current in the author's day. In the later days of the monarchy
 "Jerusalem had so far increased that we read of a second town or
 "quarter (2 Kings xxii. 14; Zeph. i. 10 Heb.; compare Nehem. iii. 9).
 "There was also a trading quarter called the Maktesh inhabited by
 "Canaanites or Tyrians (Zeph. i. 11) who still formed a large
 "part of the mercantile population after the exile (Nehem. xiii.;
 "Zech. xiv. 21). Maktesh means *mortar*, so that we must suppose
 "the traders to have lived in a hollow valley, perhaps the upper
 "part of the Tyropean. But the main part of the town was still
 "grouped round the temple plateau, from which steep streets ran
 "down the slope of the hill (Lam. iv. 1), the houses rising tier above
 "tier, so that the roof tops commanded a view of the environs
 "(Isaiah xxii.). . . . Under the Hasmonean dynasty we meet with
 "the first unambiguous evidence that the city had extended to the

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"loftier western hill, where a new palace was erected overlooking
"the temple (Antiq. xx. 8, § 11). This continued to be the royal
"quarter and was raised to great splendour by Herod who covered
"a vast extent of ground with its palaces, its courts and pleasure-
"grounds. The palace of Herod embraced two edifices transcending
"the temple in magnificence, and the three enormous adjoining towers,
"Hippicus, Phasael, and Marianne, made the upper city the strongest
"part of Jerusalem. Here also in Herod's days stood the xystus or
"gymnasium, beneath the Harmonian palace, where a bridge spanned
"the Tyropea. The bridge already existed under the later Har-
"monians when the new quarter had as yet minor importance and
"the temple hill was still the only citadel. Here the warlike high
"priest Hyrcanus usually dwelt in the castle (*βâρις*, *בֵּירָה*), which
"Herod afterwards converted into the fortress of Antonia in the
"north-west corner of the enceinte of the temple (Ant. xv. 11, § 4;
"Bell. Jud. v. 5, § 8)."

The above extract supplies the elements of an argument that might be largely developed. But it seems to me in no way incompatible with its general scope, or with the line of Nehemiah's wall, above referred to, to hold that the western hill had long before the time of the exile been covered with the buildings of the gradually extending city, and even encompassed by wall in whole or in part. The indications referred to above of the existence of a second quarter of the town—Maktesh, or the Mortar,¹ may not be sufficient to show that this was *outside* the walls of the City of David, but the impression on my mind is strongly to this effect, and from the Chronicles² it would seem that wherever Manasseh built his wall it was outside the City of David.³

¹ See *Speaker's Commentary* on Zeph. i. 11; *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, voce Maktesh.

² 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 14. See note on p. 26, and also the argument, *infra*, from the border lines of Judah and Benjamin.

³ Such a view disposes of Captain Conder's objections to Professor Sayce's views on account of the limited area assigned by him to the capital of David and Solomon (*Quarterly Report*, 1884, p. 20), though the Professor's answer (*Do.*, p. 171) is in itself effective, Captain Conder obviously understating the area in question by confining it to the portion of the eastern hill *south* of Ophel (page 22). Curiously enough Captain Conder makes no reference to Dr. Robertson Smith's article.

A third objection to this location of the City of David has been rested on the assertion of Josephus,¹ that the hill on which the upper town of his day stood, which was called by the Jews of his time the Upper Market Place, and which is undoubtedly the south-western hill, was "on account of its strength styled the Fortress² "by King David." It is argued that this implies that the castle of David was on that north-western hill, or that, at all events, that hill was included within the circuit of the Davidic walls spoken of by the author of 2 Samuel.

Were Josephus (writing, as we have stated, 1100 years afterwards) at variance with the author of 2 Samuel on this point, we should have little difficulty in preferring the authority of the earlier writer. But he hardly seems to be so. In the passage we have quoted above³ from the Antiquities of the Jews, it is "the Akra⁴" not "the Phrourion" that is taken by David into the city, and it would rather seem that the latter word is applied to the south-western hill itself, as from its commanding position it well might be, and not to any fortress that stood upon it. There are indications that from the earliest times that hill, as well as the eastern, was inhabited by the Jebusites, although on the latter (not improbably on account of its perennial water supply) their buildings had clustered more thickly and their citadel had been erected.

Light appears to me to be thrown upon this by the references in the books of Joshua and Judges to the early history of the city, and to the border line which divided the territories assigned to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin respectively. It is at first sight somewhat confusing to find Jerusalem, which is stated to have been originally taken by the children of Judah,⁵ and in which the members of that tribe are stated to have dwelt with the Jebusites, after the partition of Canaan,⁶ also spoken of as included in the lot of Benjamin,⁷ and as a city in which the children of Benjamin—not Judah—lived with the Jebusites.⁸ But the difficulty disappears if we can look upon the ancient city of the Jebusites as stretching over both the south-western and the eastern hills, and if the boundary between Judah and Benjamin is traced along the valley which lay between these

¹ *Bell. Jud.* v. 4, 1.

² *φρούριον*.

³ See p. 11.

⁴ Just as it is in the LXX. version of 2 Samuel v.

⁵ Judges i. 8.

⁶ Joshua xv. 63.

⁷ Joshua xviii. 28.

⁸ Judges i. 21.

hills, in other words, the Tyropean of Josephus. That boundary starting from the Dead Sea¹ ran westwards to Enrogel, the modern Bir Eyyûb, or Well of Job.² Thence "the border went up by the

¹ Joshua xv. 5-7; xviii. 16-19.

² This identification of Enrogel was I think admitted by all modern writers except Dr. Bonar (*The Land of Promise*, App. p. 492) until in 1870 M. Clermont Gaunneau believed he had identified a series of steps and a ledge of rock in the centre of the Arab village of Siloam, called by the Fellaheen "Ez Zehwele," with the stone of Zohelath, stated to have been (1 Kings i. 9) "by" or "near" Enrogel, and argued that the Bir Eyyûb being 700 metres distant, while the Virgin's Fountain was only 60 metres away across the valley, the true En-Rogel must be found in the latter (*Pal. Expl. Quarterly Statement*, 1869-70, p. 251; 1872, p. 116; see also Conder in do., 1872, p. 170; and 1884, p. 27-8). To this Mr. Birch replies that the word "eben," translated "stone," of Zohelath, "is never applied "to a cliff like Zahweileh, but to a stone that might be rolled over "by human strength" *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 107), and Mr. Sayce that "the Arabic word Zahweileh has no etymological connection with the Hebrew Zohelath" (Introduction to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, Lond. 1885, p. 84). If it be argued that Enrogel must necessarily be a spring from the word "ain" always being used in Scripture to denote a natural springhead, and that the Virgin's Fountain is the only natural fountain about Jerusalem (see *Pal. Expl. Society, Jerusalem*, p. 374; Henderson's "*Palestine, its Historical Geography*," Edin. [1884], p. 84), the answer of Mr. Birch is that "as both the terms 'ain' and 'bir' are applied "to the same spring in Genesis xxiv. 16, 20, it is quite allowable "to identify Ain Rogel either with Job's well or the spring which "at times bursts out of the ground a little to the south of it" (*Quart. State*, 1883, p. 107). Herr Schick writes in like manner (Do., 1884, p. 184), speaking of "Es-Shemesh," which he identifies with "En-Shemesh," "many other reasons make me believe that this site "was the original 'En-Shemes,' although there is now no spring or "ain, but only a large cistern which was formerly an open pool. "We must remember that in this district there are to-day only a "few springs. It is clear that many former springs have in course "of centuries entirely dried up, or now only flow a short time after "heavy rains; of this sort I know a great many. So it may have

"valley of the son of Hinnom unto the south side of the Jebusite, "the same is Jerusalem; and the border went up to the top of the "mountain that lieth before the valley of Hinnom westward, which "was at the end of the valley of the giants northward: and the "border was drawn from the top of the hill unto the fountain of the "water of Nephtoah."¹ The same line of division is described in another passage in the reverse direction (i.e., from west to east), as follows: "And the border came down [i.e., from 'the well of the "waters of Nephtoah'] to the end of the mountain that lieth before "the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is in the valley of the "giants on the north, and descended to the valley of Hinnom on the "side of Jebusi on the south, and descended to Enrogel."² Nephtoah seems to have been in the immediate vicinity of Rachel's Sepulchre near Bethlehem.³ What was the line of the boundary between it and the well of Job?

I have ventured to trace it in the accompanying sketch, as (Here introduces sketch of boundary line between Judah and Benjamin.) following from the well of Job the valley round the south of the eastern hill, turning up the Tyropean, or valley of Hinnom, and crossing by it the western hill near the present Jaffa gate, thence descending the valley of Rephaim to the present tomb of Rachel. By this way the eastern hill of Jerusalem was in Benjamin, and the south-western in Judah, and the difficulty above referred to is explained. Herr Schick would explain it in a different way. He brings the boundary from the north down the central valley from the Damascus Gate to the well of Job, and thence along the southern valley, which he identifies with the valley of Hinnom,⁴ but as regards the special point before us the result is the same; only the eastern hill of Jerusalem is in Benjamin and the western in Judah.

"happened with the 'En-Shemes.' Further, the words 'Ain' and "'Beth' are so often mentioned in the Bible, and also among the "Arabs of this day, that they appear often synonymous, so that one "is sometimes used for the other. Joshua xv. 10; 1 Samuel vi. "12-20, is Beth-Shemes, now called by the natives En-Shemes, "although there is no spring."

¹ Joshua xv. 8-9.

² Joshua xviii. 16.

³ See Henderson *ut supra*, pp. 85, 210.

⁴ *Pal. Quart. Statement*, 1884, p. 184-5. Schick does not agree with Nephtoah being near Bethlehem.

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My view of "the City of David" then may be briefly stated as follows:—

It was the original appellation of that portion of the eastern hill which extended from what is now the southern boundary of the Haram area to beyond Siloam, including Ophel.¹ It was always distinct from the town within the limits of the tribe of Benjamin, which lay scattered on the higher area of the western hill, and was also distinct in the first instance, from the area on the brow of the eastern hill on which the Jebusite Akra or Millo stood, and on which afterwards the temple was built; and so, from it, the ark of the Lord was brought *up* to the temple,² and, from it, Pharaoh's daughter was brought *up* by Solomon to the house he had built for her on the temple area.³ At the time of the Maccabees it was still the distinguishing appellation of the eastern district (though the city had by that time covered the western hill), but had probably included in it the plateau on the summit of the eastern hill, as well as the southern slope.⁴ In the time of Josephus it was called

¹ Manasseh is said by the Chronicler (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14) to have "built a wall without the City of David, on the west side of Gihon, "in the valley, even to the entering in at the first gate, and *compassed about Ophel*, and raised it up to a very great height." The Septuagint reads, "And afterwards he (Manasseh) built a wall without the City of David, from the spring at the south in the valley (*χευμαρρ*), and at the entrance through the Fish Gate, as we go "out by the gate round about, even as far as Ophel." But we know from the same writer (2 Chron. xxvii. 3) that there had been a wall of Ophel even before the time of Jotham. "On the wall of Ophel "he (Jotham) built much." Keil argues that "Manasseh must "therefore only have strengthened it and increased its height." (Com. on Chronicles in loc. See also Bertheau in loc.) Josephus, on the other hand (*Ant.* x. 3, 2), distinctly states that Manasseh not only repaired the old walls, but "added another wall to the former."

² 1 Kings ix. 24; 2 Chron. viii. 11.

³ 1 Kings viii. 1; 3 Chron. v. 2.

⁴ Antiochus is said (1 Macc. i. 33-36), after his capture of Jerusalem, to have "builded the City of David with a great and strong "wall, and with mighty towers, and made it a stronghold, *for it was "a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary.*" This passage of itself shows the distinction kept up between "the City of David" and

"the lower city,"¹ the hill which supported it being called Acra, and was separated from the upper city or Phourion by the Tyropœon,² and from the north-western hill by another ravine, which the Hasmonæans had filled up to unite the then extending city to the temple on that side as well as on the south.³ Throughout the whole of the Old Testament writings,⁴ and in the books of the Maccabees,⁵ it, whether in its first limited sense of the slope south of the temple, or in its later development including Mount Moriah itself, is identified with Zion; and was so identified in the days of Christ, and by every writer without exception for at least six centuries thereafter.⁶ But curiously enough the word Zion is never mentioned by Josephus.

Returning now to the consideration of the walls in the time of Josephus:—The city of Jerusalem, he tell us, was in his day encompassed by three walls. The probable lines of these I have endeavoured to show in the accompanying plan.

(Here repeat contour map with ancient walls laid down on it.)

Of these three walls, "the most ancient," writes Josephus, "as well from the ravines which surrounded it, as from the hill above them on which it was erected, was almost impregnable. But, besides the advantages of its situation, it was also strongly built; David and Solomon, as well as their successors on the throne, having devoted much attention to the work. Beginning in the north at the tower called Hippicus, and extending to what was termed the Xystus, it there formed a junction with the council house and terminated at the western colonnade of the temple. On the other side, toward the west, beginning at the same tower, it stretched through Bethso, as it was styled, to the gate of the Essenes. It then turned and advanced with a southern aspect above⁷ the fountain of Siloam,

"Jerusalem" generally, though the special reference seems to be to the "Baris," or Antonia, which I place in the north-west corner of the upper plateau. See also 1 Macc. xiv. 36, where mention is made of those "that were in the City of David, in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a tower, out of which they issued and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place."

¹ *Ant.* vii. 3, 1.

² *Ant.* v. 4, 1.

³ *Ant.*, see above, p.

⁴ 2 Sam. v. 7; 1 Kings viii. 1; etc.

⁵ Macc. iv. 36-39; vii. 33-38; 2 Macc. xiv. 31, etc.

⁶ See text, pp.

⁷ *ὑπὲρ*.

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"whence it again inclined, facing the east, towards Solomon's reservoir, and extending to a certain spot designated Ophla, it joined the eastern colonnade of the temple"¹

The configuration of the ground appears to me sufficiently to indicate the line of this wall to the north. Those who would make it slant from the present north-western angle of the city to the north-eastern corner of the Haram² have to contend with the express declaration that from the ravines which surrounded it, it was almost impregnable, and it is difficult to read this as in any way applicable to their supposed line between the north-western corner and the valley stretching to the Damascus gate. Nor do I see how, according to their theory, the history of the siege and the position of Amygdalon pool, as being outside this wall, can be satisfactorily explained. It is in no way necessary for me to hold that the tower of Hippicus is to be identified with the existing so-called "Tower of David," and I do not believe this can be done with success.

The description of the latter is most minute throughout, and the existing building fails to correspond with it in any particular.³ But

¹ Bell. Jud. v. 4, 2.

² Fergusson, Bonar, Schwartz, and Sandie.

³ Hippicus, according to Josephus, was a square of 25 cubits, or, roughly, 37½ feet, solid throughout up to the height of 30 cubits or 45 feet, and, like the two other towers of Phasaelus and Marianne, composed of large blocks of stone of white marble, each 20 cubits long, 10 broad, and 5 deep, so accurately joined together that the fittings were imperceptible, and the whole tower seemed a single rock. Phasaelus was 40 cubits or about 80 feet square, and solid to the height of 40 cubits; and Marianne 20 cubits or 30 feet square, and solid to the height of 20 cubits (*Bell. Jud.*, v. 4, § 3). Now, of the three towers within the area of the modern citadel, the so-called "Tower of David" is, measured on the ordinance map, an oblong of 69 feet by 55 (according to Dr. Robertson's measurements on the spot of 70 feet 3 inches by 56 feet 4 inches. Vol. i. p. 308). It is therefore much larger than Hippicus, and Josephus never understates his figures. Again, there is no similarity between the construction of Hippicus and that of the existing tower. Though stones of the latter are of the Herodian period, up to the height of 39 feet, yet, as Pierrotti states (p. 29), "the construction is of a later date, belonging to the "period when art was declining in the country; for we see that these

that Hippicus was in this vicinity may well be, though no traces of it now remain, and I feel much disposed to hold with Williams¹ and Pierrotti² that it may have stood at the north-western angle of the modern citadel, and that, as they with Fergusson,³ Schick,⁴ and Robertson Smith⁵ have suggested, the modern "Tower of David" occupies the site of Phasaelus.

Of the Xystus to which the western line of the first wall extended from Hippicus, we read that it was "below the house of the Asamonean family, and connected with the temple by a bridge,"⁶ and we can conjecture that it was close to the western wall of the temple, as a gate at the bridge is described as "beyond the Xystus."⁷ Of the "council-house" all that we know is that it was burnt by the Romans, along with the Acra and the place called Ophla, before the upper city was taken,⁸ which would seem to infer that it was somewhere down in the valley and nearer the southern than the northern extremity of the western wall of the temple. Accordingly, the line of wall has been pretty uniformly traced (save, of course, by those who make it start from the present north-western angle), as I have laid it down on the map on page 27. This is so clearly the line which would be adopted by those who desired to defend the south-western hill that there seems no use saying more upon the subject, provided Hippicus be granted to have stood within or near the walls of the present citadel.

From Hippicus to the south, the first wall passed "through Bethso, as it is called, to the gate of the Essenes," and then turned east. Neither of these places can now be identified, nor are they elsewhere referred to. Here again, however, the natural formation of the ground indicates of itself the line of the wall, until the south western corner is reached, where we find the remains of a continuous

"interesting remains are used without the slightest care, being "arranged without any regard to their size;" while, as to dimensions, according to Dr. Robertson's measurements they vary from $9\frac{2}{3}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and from 3 feet 5 inches to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth.

¹ *Holy City*, ii. 16.

² *Jerus. Explored*, p. 29.

³ *Topog. of Jerus.*, p. 36.

⁴ *Z. D. P. V.* I. 226.

⁵ *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., voce Jerusalem, p. 641 note.

⁶ *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 16, 3.

⁷ *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 6, 2.

⁸ *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 6, 3.

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rock scarp, at one point 45 feet in height, and of what appears to have been three towers upon or along it, at the Bishop's School and the English Protestant Cemetery.¹

A series of 36 steps, hewn in the rock, and a "broad trench," which "forms, in all probability, an approach to a gateway," lead us to conjecture that here also, just at the turning of the wall, may have been situated the "gate of the Essenes," and the name of Bethso, if we may identify it with "Bethson," or the house of the Scarp" points not unnaturally to the rocky part here disclosed.

From this corner along the steep and almost precipitous southern slope of the modern Zion no certain traces of the wall have as yet been discovered.² But somewhere along that slope it must have passed, and the main point of difficulty is to determine where it crossed the Tyropean. Josephus states that it "advanced with a southern aspect above³ the pool of Siloam, whence it again inclined, facing the east towards Solomon's reservoir, and extending to a certain spot designated Ophla, it joined the eastern colonnade of the temple." The pool of Siloam has been all but universally identified⁴ with the pool at the foot of the eastern hill, which still bears that name—in Arabic, Ain Selwân). Assuming this, is it in the least degree likely that this pool should have been left without the walls? Yet curiously enough on this point there is the greatest divergence of opinion, some writers, as for instance Robinson,⁵ Lighfoot,⁶ Bar-

¹ See *Quarterly Report*, 1875, p. 81.

² Pierrotti in his plan of ancient Jerusalem marks three places where he claims to have found "the rock hewn vertical or cut into "steps," and believes "that the wall of David can be traced on the "south and east." (*Jerusalem Explored*, p. 23.)

³ ὑπερ.

⁴ The exceptions are Gesenius, *Comment. in Isaiah* vii. 3; Reland in Havercamp's Josephus, ii. 327 and 858 and plan; and Thrupp (p. 135). The argument in favour of the present site is succinctly stated by Dr. Robinson, i. 333-5. The recent discovery of the tunnel from the Virgin's Fount has decided the question. (See Birch, *Quarterly Reports*, 1883, p. 155, and Sayce, Do., 1884, p. 249.

⁵ i. 311.

⁶ *Chorograph. Century*, cap. 25. He refers *inter alia* to a somewhat unintelligible passage from the Gemara in the Jerusalem Talmud

clay,¹ Schultz,¹ Warren,² Furrer,³ Schwartz,³ and Schick,⁴ including it in the circuit of the wall, while there is a curious consensus of opinion on the other side.⁵ There seems to me, however, to be nothing in Josephus to lead us to doubt that it was included, and a good deal to indicate that it was;⁶ while the recently discovered

(Haguiga i. 1, see the reference in Neubauer's *Geographie du Talmud*, p. 145), in which it is stated that Siloam was in the middle of the land of Israel.

¹ Barclay, and Schultz, it is fair to say, include only the upper, but exclude the lower pool. See Barclay's large plan of 1856, and the plan and bird's-eye view of ancient Jerusalem in *the City of the Great King*, pp. 56 and 106.

² See plan in *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 303.

³ *Descriptive Geography of Palestine*, p. 253.

⁴ See Plans in Zimmerman und Schick, *Karten und Plan zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, Taf. iv. Thrupp includes Siloam, but does not, as we have seen, give it that name (p. 139).

⁵ See Williams (*Smith's Dict. of Geography*, art. Jerusalem, ii. 206), who makes the wall cross the Tyropean "a little above" the pool; Bonar (*Imp. Bible Dict.* voce Jerusalem, Map); Mills (*Imp. Bible Dict.*, voce Siloam, iii. 1312); Fergusson (*Topography of Jerusalem*, p. 188); Raumer (Plan in *Palästina*); Krafft (Plan in *Topographie Jerusalem's*); Schaffter (Do. in *Die achte Lage des heiligen Gräber*); Rosen (Do. in *Das Haram von Jerusalem*); Pierrotti (Plan of Ancient Jerusalem in vol. ii. of *Jerusalem Explored*); Caspari (see plan in Zimmerman und Schick ut supra). His text, however (p. 173), would almost seem to leave the matter open; Whitby (*Proposed Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem*, map, p. xlviii.); Tobler, Menke, De Vogue, De Saulcy (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, i. 41, note 2), (see the plans of these last four writers in Zimmerman und Schick ut supra), &c., &c.

⁶ The "bending of the wall eastwards from Siloam" (*Wars*, v. 6, § 1) and the statement that "having driven the brigands from the "lower court the Romans burned all as far as Siloam" (*Wars*, vi. 7, § 2). Both seem to indicate the pool as being within the city, while one passage relied on by Mills as proving its exclusion from the circuit, rather, to my mind, tends the other way. Josephus (*Wars*, v. 9, § 4), addressing the Jews during the siege and urging them to make peace, argued that God himself was against them. "For as

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rock cut aqueduct from the Virgin's pool to Siloam offers in itself an almost conclusive argument in favour of the latter alternative. The Virgin's pool was always outside of the walls. It is conceivable that the enormous labour and expenses of this subterranean channel might have been encountered to secure to the inhabitants a supply of water in time of siege, but it is simply inconceivable that this should have been the case, or that the channel could have had any object at all, had it led from a fountain outside the walls to a pool outside of them also. If, as I believe it to have been, this was the

“for Titus these very springs flow more copiously for him, which
“had previously dried up for you. For prior to his arrival, as you
“know, both Siloam had failed, and all the fountains outside the
“walls (πρὸ γοῦν τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τὴν τε Σιλοὰμ ἐπιλειποῦσαν ἵστε
“καὶ τὰς ἐξω τοῦ ἁστεως ἀπάσας) insomuch that water was sold by the
“amphora, while now they are so abundant for your enemies, as to
“suffice, not only for themselves, and for their cattle, but even for
“the gardeners.” It is argued from this that Siloam was one of the
fountains “outside the walls,” though the construction seems rather
to indicate a distinction between it and the fountains that were
outside. The real cause of the general belief appears to be the in-
terpretation of “ὑπερ” in Josephus’ description of the wall by
“above,” instead of “beyond.” “The wall,” it is said, “advanced
“with a southern aspect *above* the fountain of Siloam (ὑπερ τὴν Σιλοὰμ
“πηγὴν), whence it again inclined facing the east.” I confess I am
unable to see that, if this interpretation be assented to, the pool
must be excluded. The wall was carried along the heights of the
north-western hill and *round* the south-eastern corner (as shown in
my plan), and when *above* the fountain of Siloam it diverged to the
east; but what has this to do with the question whether it included
Siloam or not? It is right, however, to state that there seems
authority for the interpretation of “ὑπερ” by “beyond”; “over and
“beyond which a thing goes” is given as its meaning by Liddell
and Scott, as is admitted by Lewin (p. 351, note), and Thrupp (p.
139), as well as by De Saulcy, who states that this is the meaning
according to the lexicons, but here it is “mathematically impossible
“that this sense be admitted, because the source of Siloe was always
“100 meters outside the walls, and separated from them by escarp-
“ments very difficult to cross” (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, ii. 41, note
2). I do not see myself, however, that it is necessary to press this.

channel dug by Hezekiah, when he "brought water *into* the city" (2 Kings xx. 20; Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17),¹ the case is proved.

I draw the line then of the wall without hesitation straight across the valley, inclining it to the east part beyond the pool.

From thence it proceeded, says Josephus, to the pool or reservoir of Solomon. Where was this? Schultz² and Krafft³ think it to be the old pool of Siloam now filled up. I cannot agree with Williams⁴ that this is "to suppose the same site mentioned under "two different names." The two pools are wholly and entirely distinct, though connected by the tunnel which Sayce identifies with the work of Hezekiah. Williams himself thinks it may be the large reservoir in the Haram enclosure,⁵ which seems out of the question. Lewin⁶ interprets it as "the large pool which once stood "at the south-east of the temple, and of which the ruins are noticed "by Tobler,⁷ and which he thinks may be one of those referred to "by the Bordeaux Pilgrim as being on each side of the temple made "by Solomon;" while Dr. Robinson⁸ would identify it with the modern Virgin's Fountain or Ain Umm ed-Deraj. I incline to this latter view, and, believing this pool to be the Gihon which witnessed the anointment of Solomon by Zadak and Nathan,⁹ can readily understand how it may have taken his name and been called "the King's Pool."¹⁰

Be this as it may, in a direction somewhat such as that pointed out in the plan,¹¹ the wall must have swept round the eastern hill, and joining there the line of wall discovered on Ophel by Sir Charles Warren,¹² have united itself to the earlier angle of the Haram enclosure.

The second wall, writes Josephus, "had its beginning at the gate "called Gennoth, belonging to the first wall. It reached to the "Antonia, and encircled only the western quarter of the town."¹³ The

¹ This has, we have seen, an important bearing on the site of "the city of David." See p. 14.

² p. 58.

³ p. 21.

⁴ *Holy City*, I., Memoir, p. 81 note.

⁵ *Holy City*, I., Memoir, p. 83. II., p. 481 note.

⁶ p. 352.

⁷ *Topog.* ii. 78.

⁸ I. 337. Ritter seems to agree with him, iv. 151.

⁹ 1 Kings I. 33, 38, 45.

¹⁰ Neh. ii. 14.

¹¹ p. 27.

¹² *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 288-95.

¹³ *Bell. Jud.*, v. 4, 2.

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lengthened discussion, upon which in the first chapter of this book I have entered, as to the probable site of the Gennath gate, and as to the area enclosed by this wall, renders it unnecessary for me here to do more than refer to the route I have ventured to lay down for it in the plan.¹ It seems to me the route naturally suggested by the brief description given by the historian, in conjunction with the formation of the ground, and to meet every requirement of the details of the siege.

As to the third wall, the following is the account of Josephus :—
 “The tower Hippicus formed the commencement of the third wall,
 “which stretched from thence towards the northern quarter as far as
 “the tower Psephorius, and then passing opposite the monument of
 “Helena, Queen of Adirabene, mother of King Izates, and extending
 “through the royal caverns, was inflected at the corner tower near to
 “the spot known by the appellation of the Fuller’s Tomb, and con-
 “necting itself with the old wall, terminated at the valley called
 “Kedron. This wall Agrippa had thrown round the new-built town,
 “which was quite unprotected, for the city, overflowing with inhabi-
 “tants, gradually crept beyond the ramparts ; and the people, incor-
 “porating with the city the quarter north of the temple, close to the
 “hill, made a considerable advance, insomuch that a fourth hill, which
 “is called Bezetha, was also surrounded with habitations. It lay
 “over against the Antonia, from which it was separated by a deep
 “fosse purposely excavated to cut off the communication between
 “the foundations of the Antonia and the hill, that they might
 “be at once less easy of access and more elevated.”²

As in the case of the second, so in that of the third wall I have to refer the reader to the arguments stated in the text as proving the enclosure by the latter of a large space of ground beyond the circuit of the modern fortifications of the city to the north—only on one point I should desire to add a few words. I have drawn the line of this wall³ as uniting with that of the present modern wall close to the modern gate of Herod, influenced partly by the fact that a careful examination on the spot led me to doubt whether the fosse which is cut in the rock just outside the northern city wall towards its eastern extremity is not itself an ancient work, or can ever have been crossed by a line of circumvallation of which no traces exist, and partly, I confess, from an idea that should Mr. Ferguson’s interpre-

¹ p. 27.

² *Bell. Jud.*, v. 4, 2.

³ p. 27.

tation of "the royal caverns" be received, the words "*through* the royal caverns" might be taken as literally accurate if we suppose them to refer to the enormous excavations within the city a little to the east of the Damascus Gate, regarded as including in their original extent the excavations almost directly opposite and now styled the cave of Jeremiah. In the circuit I have adopted I have, I believe, availed myself of all existing remains.

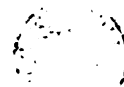
Mr. Ferguson in his first work¹ argued that this third wall, from the words of Josephus, must be held to have run outside the eastern wall of the temple, "for if the eastern wall of the Haram was the wall of the Temple, it is plain this last wall (*i.e.*, the third) would have been said to have joined the northern or eastern cloister of the Temple, not the old or first wall." But he would appear to have altered his view on the discovery by Sir Charles Warren of the wall of Ophel, which starts from the south-eastern angle of the present Haram,² and to have admitted the existing eastern wall near that angle to be Solomon's, as seems to be proved by the masons' marks found on its lower courses. The mistake appears to have arisen from his interpreting the "old wall" as being synonymous with what Josephus had just described as the "first wall," which did not include the Temple Area at all, whereas it may just as well refer to the whole of the circuit of which both the Temple wall and the first wall formed parts—meaning by the Temple wall, the wall which encompassed not only the Temple itself, but the site of the palace of Solomon which once adjoined it to the east.

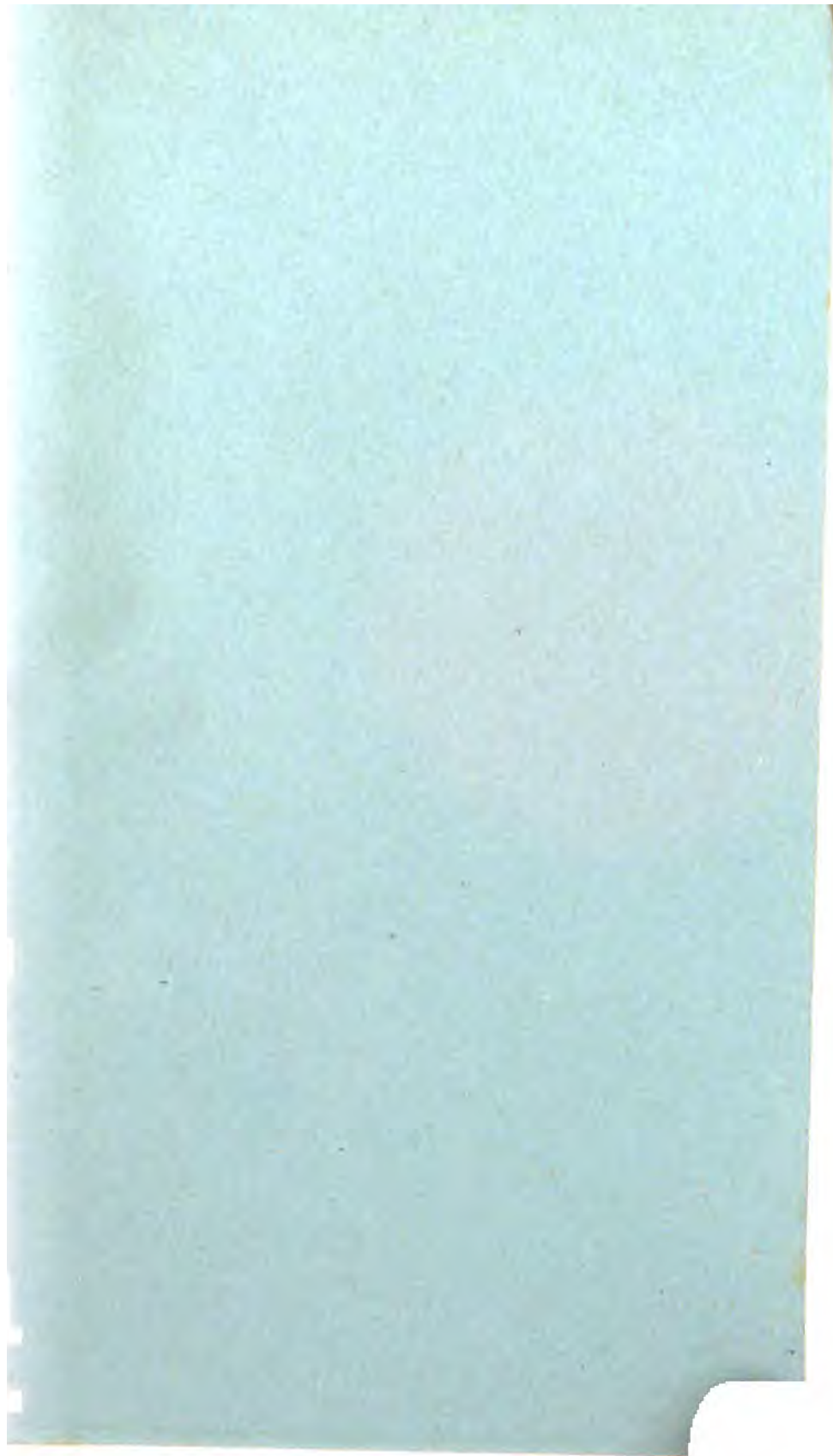
Of the Temple Area itself, and of the buildings upon it in the time of Josephus, including the Antonia, it is unnecessary for me to say more than I have already said in Chapter IV.

¹ *Topog. of Jerusalem*, p. 42.

² *Temples of the Jews*, p. 41.

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